THE MUSIC OF AMERICAN REVIVALISM

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PREFACE

Previous studies of the Great Awakening, a religious movement in America beginning in 1740, have emphasized for the most part political, social, and theological factors. The role of music in the revivalistic activity of the American Calvinists who initiated the movement has never been fully investigated. A study in which the musical practices of the participants are defined and described will add to the bibliographical data of the period and will allow a better understanding of the revival of religion as it appeared in an early form in America. Such a study will also contribute to an understanding of the relationship between music and rapid social change, and will delineate areas of exchange, attrition, and amelioration within a musical tradition.

The purpose of this study is threefold: to isolate and to categorize the music influenced by American revivalistic activity in the period 1740 to 1800; to define the relationships between this music and the forces of social and religious change; and to formulate and present a new perspective of its historical value.

In accomplishing the first objective, the isola-

tion and categorization of the music, bibliographical description and musical analysis are used. The techniques of musical analysis are employed only as a means of defining a specific form-class in each period of observation, not as a means of comparison or evaluation within the larger system of Western musical development. Bibliographical description is used as a means of establishing primary sources and to furnish data for further research.

The second objective is achieved by the presentation of musical and textual elements and biographical and bibliographical data in support of authoritative studies made by historians of American revivalism, particularly the works of Charles C. Goen, Claude M. Newlin, and Leonard J. Trinterud. This study begins with a summary of revivalism and the social factors which dominated the era, as formulated by these and other historians. This is followed by an extension of their findings into the musical practice of the period in the form of data and argument drawn from my own research.

The third objective will the be result of the first and the second. The formulation of a new perspective toward the role of evangelical music in American culture will have significance in two areas. First, historians of American religious development, with the possible ex-

ception of William McLoughlin, have failed to realize or have elected not to pursue the value of musical activity in their studies of revivalistic movements. This study is intended to fill lacunae and to strengthen existing studies by introducing supporting information from sources not previously exploited. Second, it should contribute to the reevaluation of a form-class which has been rejected on aesthetic grounds by many musicians and musicologists, but which constitutes a continuing force in popular religious song, church hymnody, folklore, and in the art music of Charles Ives, Virgil Thomson, and other American composers. Hence it should also serve to clarify the pertinence of revival songs to a national musical expression.

There have been numerous studies which deal with the revival songs and each has contributed to this investigation in some measure. It is my opinion, however, that no comprehensive study has been made and that there is a need for a new investigation. Leonard Ellinwood's observation that the revivalistic songs of the early twentieth century do not "deserve to survive the cheap woodpulp on which they are printed" is representative of the bias of church musicians who apply religious or aesthetic criteria with no regard for social or historical factors.[1] The studies of Robert Stevenson

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[1]Leonard Ellinwood, The History of American Church Music (New York: Morehouse-Gorman Co., 1953), p. 105.

are more objective in their treatment of such music but do not attempt to relate it either to revivalism or to the body of American church song.[2] George Pullen Jackson's studies are of great value but the lack of historical perspective, the manipulation of both printed and oral sources to fit a predetermined concept of origins, and the inability to relate the music to a larger pattern of development limit his contributions.[3]

I have limited this study to the history of revivalism in the American colonies from 1740 to 1800. This investigation is intended to complement a previous work completed at the University of Southern Mississippi in 1963 under the direction of Dr. Rey Longyear, "The Gospel Hymn, 1875-1930."[4] The present study covers the beginning of the era of American Revivalism. There is yet another period to be investigated, 1800-1875--the era of camp meetings, the Sunday Schools, and the temperance and social reform movements.

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[2]Robert Stevenson, Patterns of Protestant Church Music (Durham: Duke University Press, 1952) and Protestant Church Music in America (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1966).

[3]The works of George Pullen Jackson will be introduced with comment in the divisions of this study to which they apply.

[4]James C. Downey, "The Gospel Hymn, 1875-1930," an unpublished Master's Thesis, The University of Southern Mississippi, 1963. A summary of the work appeared under the title "Revivalism, The Gospel Songs, and Social Reform" in the Journal of the Society for Ethnomusicology, IX, No. 2, as the Jaap Kunst Award Paper for 1964.

I am indebted to Rodney Mills of the Music Division of the Library of Congress, and to Dr. Warren Tracy and the library staff of the University of Southern Mississippi for their assistance in locating the historical editions used in this study. Rare items not accessible through regular library systems were examined in microprint editions in the American Antiquarian Society's Early American Imprints series.[5]

I must also recognize the members of the Seminar in American Musical Studies at Tulane University, 1963-1964, for many of the precepts upon which this study is based. Especially helpful were the contributions of Professor Gilbert Chase, Dr. Gerard Behague of the University of Illinois, Dr. Harry L. Eskew of the New Orleans Baptist Theological Seminary, and Wayne Hobbs of the Louisiana State University in New Orleans. Without their individual studies during the course of the seminar and their observations pertaining to my research, this study would not have been possible.

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[5]Charles Skipton (ed.), Early American Imprints (Worcester: American Antiquarian Society, 1963).

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CHAPTER I

CALVIN, WATTS, AND THE PURITAN TRADITION

American evangelical religion is essentially Calvinistic in its doctrines. Outwardly the nineteenth-century Calvinism of Charles G. Finney and Dwight L. Moody bears little resemblance to that of John Cotton and Increase Mather, but a close examination of patterns of thought and basic concepts will show the two practices to be similar in mode and symbolism. Certain doctrines of the Calvinists which will be discussed in this study contributed directly to the character of American revivalism and its music, but for the present it is necessary to describe only their musical expression in the pre-revival period, 1620-1740. This is the first prerequisite to an understanding of the impact of evangelical music upon the colonists.

The Music of the American Calvinists

The term which best describes the attitude toward singing among seventeenth-century Calvinists appeared in an early American tract written by the Reverend John Cotton, The Singing of Psalms, A Gospel Ordinance.[1] The term "ordi-

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[1]John Cotton, The Singing of Psalms, A Gospel Ordinance (London: 1647).

nance" is reserved for those acts of the church which Christians are required to perform. Therefore, psalm-singing can be thought of as an act of obligation on the part of the individual, and not primarily as the result of devotion or spiritual exhilaration. In New England the Puritans sang through the Psalms systematically.[2] This practice, like any other act of worship, could thus be regulated and controlled in the interest of sound doctrine and practice. The controversy over "regular singing" in the early years of the eighteenth century indicates that the second generation of English colonists would not allow the practice to be controlled, an attitude that advanced the cause of evangelical music after that time.[3]

The colonists adhered to the teachings of John Calvin regarding music and, in their worship, prohibited the use of organs, part-singing and texts other than those taken from the Psalms. Consequently, there was little opportunity for musical development within the Puritan tradition; as Robert Stevenson observed, Calvin denied the power of religion "to inspire men afresh in the praise of God."[4]

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[2]Irving Lowens, Music and Musicians in Early America (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1964), pp. 28-29.

[3]The controversy is described in Gilbert Chase, America's Music (2nd ed. revised, New York: McGraw-Hill, 1966), pp. 22-40.

[4]Robert Stevenson, Patterns of Protestant Church Music p. 20. Calvin's ideas of the relation of church music to worship are to be found in Leon Wencelius, L'Esthétique de Calvin (Paris: Société d'Edition Les Belles Lettres, n.d.), pp. 250-303.

In the early history of the colonists in America there was an identification by the religious exiles with the Israelites, injecting into the Puritan tradition a rich symbolism drawn from the Pentateuch, the books of history, and the Psalms of David from the Old Testament division of the Bible.[5] By 1720 in New England the Ainsworth Psalter (1612) and the Old Version (1558) of Sternhold and Hopkins had declined in favor of The Bay Psalm Book (1640), while in the middle colonies Rous' Psalms of David (1650) and the New Version of Tate and Brady were in wide usage.[6] Notably absent in the texts of the metrical psalms in this period were references to Christ and his teachings, a prerequisite for the gospel of revivalists.

In summary, the musical heritage brought to New England by its early colonists was Calvinistic in nature, with little scope for development beyond a methodical vocalization of the Psalms. In the static society envisioned by Calvin and espoused by the early Puritans, there was little evidence of the free expression which is a part of the music of great religious movements. Evangelical

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[5]This identification forms the basis of the study by Cyclone Covey, The American Pilgrimage (New York: Collier Books, 1961). The "pilgrimage theme" in evangelical music is discussed in the analyses of texts in Chapters III-IV.

[6]Various other psalters were in use, but those listed here were most often involved in church controversies over the adoption of Watts' Psalms.

hymnody had to wait for a theological reorientation that would appear a century after the founding of the New Zion.

The Contributions of Isaac Watts

The first significant modification of the Puritan musical tradition occurred at the beginning of the eighteenth century in England under the influence of Isaac Watts (1674-1748), an English dissenting minister. In the first period of revivalism in North America known as the Great Awakening the metrical psalms of Watts were introduced as a complement to evangelical preaching. A summary of the changes brought about by Watts is necessary in understanding the relationship between the new psalmody and the forces of revivalism.[7]

Because of Calvin's prohibition of "hymns of human composure" there was little religious verse to be found in worship services in England. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the "hymn" or religious poem appeared primarily as a literary form used by John Donne (1573-1631), Robert Herrick (1591-1674), and George Herbert (1593-1633). Watts' initial contribution to evangelical hymnody was that he separated the two streams of literature and religious song. The hymns of his first publication, Horae Lyricae, (1705) reflect literary rather than pragmatic values. In

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[7]The material used here is taken chiefly from Louis F. Benson, The English Hymn (Richmond, Va.: John Knox Press, 1962 reprint).

the Hymns and Spiritual Songs (1707), his first texts intended to be sung, Watts declared that the "metaphors are generally sunk to the Level of vulgar Capacities" and that he had endeavored "to make the sense plain and obvious." In so doing "some of the Beauties of Poetry are neglected, and some willfully defaced."[8]

Watts believed that the poor singing of his congregation was the result of the limitations of metrical psalmody for expressing Christian sentiment. He proposed in his preface to the Hymns and Spiritual Songs a "system of praise" that was evangelical, freely composed, and representative of the personal religious expression of the Christian.

The second contribution of Isaac Watts was in the form of a compromise with the entrenched psalmody which can be described as the "Christianization" of the psalms. In 1719, he published The Psalms of David imitated in the language of the New Testament and apply'd to the Christian State and Worship in which he freely altered texts and symbols to allow references to Christ and English Christendom. This transformation made the Old Testament verses applicable to the gospel of the evangelists who flourished in the generation after the death of Watts and, most sig-

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[8]Isaac Watts, Hymns and Spiritual Songs, 1707-1748, Selma L. Bishop, ed. (London: The Faith Press, 1962), from the Preface, pp. liii-liv.

nificant for American Puritans, acceptable to those who would not completely give up the singing of the psalms as their chief musical expression.

Isaac Watts alone should not be credited with the transformation from metrical psalmody to evangelical hymnody which occurred in the eighteenth century. In his wake were to be found many writers who enlarged his "system of praise" and changed the singing of the English churches from a liturgical expression to a homiletical device. Those dissenting sects whose "separateness" lay in the particular mode of an ordinance, such as the Baptists who believed in adult baptism and closed communion, quickly expanded Watts' few hymns on these subjects as a means of teaching their doctrines to the people.

From the pattern of Watts' free expression came the great body of hymns of the Evangelical Revival in England and America. John Wesley brought his Psalms to Georgia in 1737 and George Whitefield used his Hymns in 1753 when he compiled his own collection of texts by Cennick, Seagrave, and others.

Watts had little or no influence in the colonies until after 1740 and the preaching tours of George Whitefield. Benjamin Franklin printed his Psalms in 1729 and complained two years later that they were not sold. But in 1741 a second printing was necessary and reprints appeared frequent-

ly after that time.[9] The first American reprint of the Hymns occurred in Boston in 1739 and Franklin printed them in Philadelphia in 1742.

In summary, Isaac Watts prepared the way for the revivalists of the eighteenth century to offer to the English people the first new religious song to be introduced since the sixteenth century. Had not Watts launched a deliberate attack on the tradition of psalmody with his publications, there is little probability that the evangelical hymnody of 1750 would have survived. Without the criteria set forth in his "system of praise" it is possible that there would have been neither the freedom of expression essential to a new musical practice nor the unity of form and content necessary to set the revival hymns of the ensuing centuries apart as a distinct body of song.

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[9]See Appendix I for a history of Watts' publications in America.

CHAPTER II

THE GREAT AWAKENING

The Calvinist tradition and the awakening of interest in a religious expression which emphasized the relationship between Christ and the individual formed the background for the Great Awakening in America. The revivalism of Jonathan Edwards and George Whitefield and the emerging national consciousness of the colonists were catalysts which brought cohesion and purpose to the events of the movement.[1]

There were many changes in colonial America in the period 1740 to 1780, and many can be related to forces at play in the revivalistic activity of the people. The most significant political change was the realization of a new

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[1]The summary of revivalism offered here is based on the studies of C. C. Goen, Revivalism and Separatism in New England, 1740-1808 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1962), Claude M. Newlin, Philosophy and Religion in Colonial America (New York: Philosophical Library, 1962), and Leonard J. Trinterud, The Forming of an American Tradition (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1949). Historical sources have been used to augment their observations in order to present a subjective impression of persons and events and to emphasize the role of music in the emotional milieu which the revivalists created. The bibliographical and analytical investigation of the music is to be found in Chapters III and IV.

nation. The revivalism of 1740 was the first truly national movement in the colonies.

> By uniting large numbers of people in all the colonies in common emotional experiences, it (Revivalism) was even to awaken a national self-consciousness. Indeed, Whitefield should be reckoned as America's first really national figure,[2]

In the attack of the revivalists on ecclesiastical despotism and constituted authority, one may find numerous parallels to political activity. It is also reasonable to assume that the freedom in religious expression achieved through the efforts of the revivalists may have sharpened sensibilities for the political freedom achieved through the Declaration of Independence. The revivalism of the Great Awakening, emphasizing the role of the individual in determining patterns of religious expression, is congenial to writings of John Locke on political matters.[3]

An immediate change brought about by the revival fervor of 1740 was a larger participation by the individual in the conduct of his religious affairs. The lack of interest in the church observed by New England divines in the early eighteenth century was a result of an influx of colonists who were motivated by economic rather than religious factors, the "secondary" church membership of second and

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[2]Goen, op. cit., p. 28.

[3]The influence of Calvinism and revivalism in the establishment of the new government is discussed in Trinterud, op. cit., p. 246f.

third generation colonists which resulted from a rigid interpretation of the Calvinist doctrine of predestination, and certain trends among the clergy toward extreme conservatism and centralization of church authority as seen in the Salem witch trials of 1692 and the adoption of the Saybrook Platform (1708). The need for a reawakening of religious activity was sounded by Cotton Mather in 1702, who, in his Magnalia Christi Americana, attempted to call the people back to the spiritual fervor of the early Puritans.[4] The Great Awakening was a "revival of religion" in the strictest definition of the term.

The religious excitement of 1740 far surpassed the desires of the clergy. The revival became the melting pot in which existing institutions were refined and recast in molds dictated by the needs of a new environment. At no time was there a proclamation of a new order or justification of a new theology by the revivalists; they sought only to return to the exalted spiritual state of their Puritan fathers.[5]

The changes which occurred in the musical activity

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[4]Cotton Mather, Magnalia Christi Americana (London: Thomas Parkhurst, 1702).

[5]Throughout the history of revivalism in America the reformation of society by a return of individuals to the piety of a previous generation is a dominant theme. Revivalism is therefore superficially reactionary in its theology although it may be the chief device for reconciling social change and the religious thinking of previous generations.

of the colonists were an integral part of this larger reorientation of theological and social factors.

Early Revival Movements in the Middle Colonies, 1720-1740

The Great Awakening did not begin in any one place, contrary to the thinking of those who like to credit Jonathan Edwards with being the initiator. Like many reforms which are the result of an overall need, it was a spontaneous activity, self-generating and at times completely out of control. In 1720, in New Brunswick, Theodorus Frelinghuysen, a Dutch Reformed minister, began a crusade against perfunctory orthodoxy by zealous preaching and an emphasis on personal damnation for all who were unconcerned about the things of God. He imposed a strict discipline on his people similar to that of John Calvin in Geneva. There are no conclusive accounts of a changing musical expression in the revivals of Frelinghuysen.

In 1735, leadership passed into the hands of the Tennent family in Pennsylvania, who prepared through their "log college" a strong clergy given to forceful preaching and a dramatic description of the damnation reserved for the unredeemed. The evangelists required of their church members a specific religious experience, emotional and mystical in nature, that signified their assurance of salvation.

The men who followed the Tennents into a conflict with existing Presbyterian thought and practice had little of the flare associated with their nineteenth-century counterparts. There was no "mourner's bench," "inquiry room," "protracted meetings" or other device used by later evangelists. They sought out private meetings to counsel and exhort people to seek a spiritual experience that would assure them of their "election" to salvation. The lay activity in the home was the foundation for their work--a social activity, not an ecclesiastical one. They sought to bring about in each individual a recognition of his sinful state and of the damnation which was his lot, a cardinal tenet of Calvinism. The "conviction of sinfulness" was to become the initial step in the conversion experience of countless revival converts for the next 200 years. The fervent exhortation and praying of the ministers and their lay workers helped the supplicant to achieve the final step, "assurance," or the knowledge that he was one of God's "elect."[6]

While forceful preaching was a part of the work, revivals were not sudden outbursts. Transitory concern within

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[6]The activity of Gilbert Tennent and his followers is described in Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 56-77. A detailed study of the "log college" faction with comprehensive biographies of its chief personalities may be found in A. Alexander, (ed.), Biographical Sketches of the Founder, and principal Alumni of the Log College, together with an account of the revivals of religion under their ministry (Princeton: J. T. Robinson, 1845).

a community was called a "stirring," but true revivals lasted months or as long as two years. The process from "conviction" to "assurance" was expected to be a long one accompanied by despair, fear, and, after a while, a definite supernatural experience which the individual described to the congregations. In the activity of exhorters, the personal emotions generated within the sinner, and the required public description of the experience, lies the source material for the new evangelical song of the period.[7]

The Tennent party caused a great social and religious controversy in the middle colonies that continued from 1730 to the Revolutionary War. There was a frequent exchange of pulpits between Tennent disciples and the revivalist ministers of New England, and revivalistic agitation and controversy were to be found in all areas where conservative religious traditions obtained.

> The Tennents' preaching of convictions and assurance was a challenge to the whole religious life of the Church. For people who had more or less taken it for granted that they were Christians, and had been assured of it by their own appraisal of their faith and life, the Tennent preaching came as a terrible shock. Some sought and found a living Christian faith; others fought back with bitter animosity.[8]

The preaching of the revivalists constituted an attack on the conservative clergy, and they appealed to the

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[7]This statement is documented in detail in Chapter IV.

[8]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 59.

laity in their attempt to gain control of the judicatories. After 1740 the power of the laity--public opinion, or individualism as opposed to institutionalism--became a dominant force in American religion. The fight seemed to center for several years over control of pulpits in the new communities on the advancing frontier. Followers of the Tennents, who came to be called "New Side" Presbyterians, were denied these posts by the ruling presbyteries even though the churches were without pastors. In 1739, Whitefield was asked to join the fight in support of the revivalists and his presence helped to turn the tide. After 1741, the frontier churches in Pennsylvania and western New York were revivalistic in nature, and it is in these areas that the folk-hymns and spirituals appeared in such profusion at the turn of the century.[9]

It is difficult to describe the role of music in the early Tennent revivals. It is probable that only the Psalms were sung up to the time of Whitefield's arrival in 1739. Writers concentrated on theological factors in their tracts. Music was dismissed with the observation that on a particular occasion "a psalm was sung by the people," usually as a prelude to a sermon or upon departing from a service.[10] The services of the Tennents were held in churches

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[9]See Chapter IV.

[10]This observation is based on numerous historical sources, and on Alexander's Biographical Sketches.

as a part of the worship experience. After 1740, revival services were most often outside the activities and control of the church as itinerants carried the fervor forward. Hymn singing probably was an adjunct to itineracy and the singing of psalms a part of the worship services of the church. In all probability, religious song accompanied the private assembly of Christians in homes during the revival enthusiasm, but descriptions of such a practice before 1740 are not in evidence.

Early Revival Movements in New England
1720-1740

In general, the same elements of unrest were to be found in New England that had appeared in the 1730's in the middle colonies. It is much easier to document the changing musical activity in the northern colonies because of the practice of the local divines of stating their arguments in tracts which have been preserved to the present. The Presbyterians of the middle colonies were the last of the Puritan groups in America to sanction a denominational hymnal; therefore, a detailed account of the growth of evangelical hymnody under the impetus of revivalism can be traced more easily among the Congregationalists of New England. The two groups differed little in Calvinistic doctrines or revivalistic practices: their system of church government was their only distinction.

The position of the clergy in the conduct of human

affairs was much stronger in the New England colonies than elsewhere. The Congregationalists enjoyed all the privileges of an established church--financial security, social prestige, and political influence. Church and State were at times inseparable. For example, in 1697 the clergy brought a severe enactment in Massachusetts which set imprisonment, public disgrace in the pillory, and mutilation for such acts as blasphemy and denying the divine nature of the Bible.[11]

In 1708, the clergy strengthened their power over all religious activity by the Saybrook Platform which moved authority out of the individual church and vested it in a type of presbytery. This authoritarianism, together with a growing social distinction between the town churches and those on the frontier, made the New England communities a fertile ground for the anti-clericalism of the revivalists' doctrine and a free, evangelical hymnody.[12]

The growing separation between churches in frontier communities and those in the towns was illustrated by some of the basic differences in their singing. Gilbert Chase described the controversy between rural singing or the "New England Folk Style" and singing by note, or "regular sing-

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[11]Gordon Carruth and associates, The Encyclopedia of American Facts and Dates (4th ed., New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1966), p. 39.

[12]For a detailed account of the issues in the revivalistic movement among Congregationalists in New England see Goen, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

ing."[13] The situation appears to have developed somewhat as follows:

1. Singing of the psalms had deteriorated among the people to the extent that a new institution came into being, the singing school, designed by the clergy to develop the skills required to learn the old tunes as they had been written and to enliven the singing by new tunes and part settings.

2. There was an enthusiasm for singing in their own independent manner among those congregations which were more distant from the centers of social and religious authority. It was among these congregations that the evangelical folk-hymn developed in the New England area.[14]

3. The type of singing preferred among these rural congregations was anathema to the established clergy in the towns, who made vigorous efforts to eradicate it.

In addition to a developing cleavage in Congregationalism brought about by the nature of the communities themselves, there was great dissatisfaction on theological grounds. Frontier awakenings had occurred in New England in 1721, 1727, and 1731, but these "stirrings" had not flowed back into the populated areas.

The greatest hindrance to the perpetuation of a

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[13]Chase, op. cit., pp. 22-40, and Robert Stevenson, Protestant Church Music in America, pp. 21-31.

[14]See Chapter IV.

stable religious tradition was the interpretation of Calvin's doctrine of predestination. Full church membership among the early Puritans required (1) a correct profession of faith (doctrinal purity), (2) an upright life, and (3) a personal religious experience in which the individual's "election" was revealed.[15] In order to claim church membership and the rights of full citizenship, the individual had to establish his own claim to God's favor by convincing the clergy of his "election." As the first generation of the "elect" died out, it became more difficult to determine the "saved" among their descendents.

The Half-way Covenant of 1662 allowed baptism of infants and created a "secondary church membership," in the hope that those upon whom God bestowed salvation would be revealed at a later time. The permissiveness of the Reverend Samuel Stoddard in Northhampton allowed all who were of upright life to be administered the Lord's Supper, an ordinance reserved for the "elect." This filled the church with the "ungodly," according to Edwards and the revivalists.

In the opinion of some, the Half-way Covenant and Stoddardism had turned the world into the church, and there was a great need to return to the requirements of the early Puritans for church membership. The first revivalists were

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[15]Goen, op. cit., p. 2.

attempting to counteract the compromises of three generations and to restore the church to the purity of the early seventeenth century.

Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758), who had led his church at Northhampton in an early manifestation of the revival in 1734, believed that it was possible to "know" the elect by virtue of their religious experience. It was, therefore, the duty of the ministers to assist in that "discovery" by vividly describing the state of the damned and exhorting the sinner to cast himself on God's mercy in hope of salvation.[16] A typical sermon topic was "Sinners in the Hands of An Angry God," Edwards' title for a sermon at Endfield, Connecticut in 1741. The release from fear which came to the sinner after great travail was the "assurance," or knowledge of election to salvation. Edwards and his followers were condemned by the conservative clergy for their stand on "assurance," the same controversy that plagued Tennent's disciples in Pennsylvania and New York. After George Whitefield's revival tour of New England in 1740, the exchange of pulpits between these "New Lights," as the revivalists were called among Congregationalists, and the "New Side" Presbyterians, unified the movement.

The emotions of the "awakened" in New England

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[16]See Jonathan Edwards, Some Thoughts Concerning the Present Revival of Religion in New England (Boston: S. Kneeland and T. Green, 1742) for Edwards' reaction to the events and his suggestions for furthering the movement.

called for new expression in singing in both rural and town churches. Samuel Stoddard, who had preceded Edwards at Northampton, had preached in favor of "regular singing" and his people were skillful in the art of music. To this musical skill the revival added new interest and inspiration. Jonathan Edwards observed:

> Our public praises were then greatly enlivened: God was then served in our psalmody, in some measure in the beauty of Holiness. It has been observable, that there has been scarcely any part of Divine worship, wherein good men amongst us have had grace so drawn forth, and their hearts so uplifted in the ways of God, as in singing his praises. Our congregation excelled all that I ever knew in the external part of the duty before, generally carrying regularly and well, three parts of music, and the women a part by themselves. But now they were evidently wont to sing with unusual elevation of heart and voice, which made the duty pleasant indeed.[17]

Returning from a journey at the height of the revival Edwards found his congregation singing Watts' Hymns, omitting the metrical psalms entirely from the worship service. A compromise was reached between pastor and people allowing one hymn to be sung at the close of the afternoon meeting, together with two of the psalms.[18] In 1742 Edwards, commenting on criticism of the current revival, remarked:

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[17]Quoted by Henry Wilder Foote, Three Centuries of American Hymnody (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940), p. 148. I have been unable to locate the historical source from which Foote took this passage for further examination.

[18]Benson, op. cit., p. 163.

> But what is more especially found Fault with in the singing that is now practiced is making use of Hymns of human Composure. And I am far from thinking that the Book of Psalms should be thrown by in our publick Worship. . . . But I know of no obligation we are under to confine ourselves to it. . . . And tis really needful that we should have some other songs besides the Psalms of David.[19]

George Whitefield and the Revival of 1740

The individual who emerged as the symbol of the Great Awakening in America was George Whitefield (1714-1770), an Anglican priest. At the age of twenty-three, Whitefield came to join John Wesley in his work in Georgia. He returned to England in 1739 to raise funds for an orphanage in Savannah, and, speaking fervently to large crowds, he quickly gained a large following.

In August of 1739, Whitefield returned to the colonies, intending to seek funds in the area of New England and the middle colonies. In November of that year, William Tennent, Sr. called on him in what is believed to have been an attempt to enlist his aid in the controversy between the ministers of his faction and the Synod of New York and Pennsylvania.[20] He quickly gave the Tennents his support. It was about this time that Whitefield's basic revivalistic

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[19]Jonathan Edwards, op. cit., p. 184.

[20]Historians are unclear on this point; there is little doubt, however, that the meeting was amiable, and that the friendship formed was significant in the course of revivalism.

techniques were formed, much in the manner of the preaching and exhorting of the log-college men. The new theme in his preaching after 1739 was the necessity for the "new birth," the strong emotional experience in which assurance of salvation was made known to the individual.

Whitefield came to Philadelphia as a follower of the Moravians and German pietists and a strong supporter of John Wesley. Under the influence of William Tennent, he returned to a type of Calvinism that eventually brought him to a break with Wesley in 1741, and into a great deal of difficulty with the Anglican clergy. He rejected the Arminianism of Wesley and caused a dichotomy in the Methodist movement in England and the colonies.

In the fall of 1740, Whitefield toured the New England colonies for six weeks, and it was during this time that the Great Awakening as a popular movement emerged. In December of that year he urged Gilbert Tennent to tour the Massachusetts and Connecticut churches. It was in this crucial period of September, 1740, to March, 1743, that the revival became the dominant feature of American religious activity.

Whitefield attacked his Anglican superiors in Philadelphia and was denied the privilege to speak in their

pulpits because of his "common abuse" of his hearers.[21] He then took to the fields and village squares as an itinerant. On March 8, 1740, Gilbert Tennent preached a sermon which became the pattern for Whitefield and his followers titled "The Danger of an Unconverted Ministry." In the wake of the itinerants sprang up a host of exhorters, who, once they were "assured" of salvation, immediately began to preach throughout the countryside without benefit of education, training, or ordination. Attempts by the established clergy to control these lay preachers only widened the gap between the ministers and the enthusiasts, resulting in persecution, imprisonment, and violent attacks upon both parties.

In Philadelphia, Whitefield and Benjamin Franklin formed a friendship that was to last the remainder of the evangelist's life. Franklin published numerous works for Whitefield and, while never espousing his religious beliefs, shared many of his social and political ideas. Franklin had separated himself from the churches of Philadelphia because of disagreement over the power of the presbytery. When Whitefield was denied use of the Philadelphia churches, Franklin became a trustee of a non-denominational meeting house constructed for the use of Whitefield, the Tennents,

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[21]Whitefield's difficulty with the Anglican clergy is described by Benjamin Franklin, The Works of Benjamin Franklin in Twelve Volumes, ed. John Bigelow (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), I, p. 220.

Baptists, Moravians and other ministers denied an audience elsewhere.[22]

In 1741, the revival fervor swept through the colonies, assisted by the colonial press. The Tennents toured Virginia and Whitefield continued the work in Georgia. Benjamin Franklin wrote in the Gazette:

> Since Mr. Whitefield's preaching here, the Dancing School, Assembly and Concert Room have been shut up as inconsistent with the Doctrine of the Gospel. . .[23]

Franklin remained an interested observer, but never a convert. He remarked that the singing of psalms and spiritual songs had replaced much of the secular music ordinarily heard in the town when people gathered for social occasions.[24] He observed:

> The mode has a wonderful influence on mankind: and there are numbers who, perhaps, fear less the being in Hell, than out of fashion.[25]

By 1741 the revival and anti-revival parties were clearly defined and the movement grew beyond the control of the men who had created it. The excitement grew in intensity within each revival meeting, especially when control of the movement passed from Edwards and the Tennents into the hands of James Davenport, Elisha Paine, and the lay-

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[22]Ibid., pp. 220-221.

[23]Leonard W. Labarre, ed., The Papers of Benjamin Franklin (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1959), II, p. 284.

[24]Benjamin Franklin, Works, I, pp. 220-221.

[25]Ibid., II, 267.

exhorters.

It is perhaps true that Whitefield was not solely responsible for the great transformation of the Old World religious institutions into a democratic, evangelical faith, but his name became a rallying cry for individualism in religion and equality in social justice. In his wake sprang up a new form of evangelical Calvinism which had as its chief mode of dissemination the revival meeting. William McLoughlin has summarized his influence:

> His own refusal to honor the liturgical and ecclesiastical regulations of his Anglican superiors symbolized the beginning of an anticlerical revolution which broke the back of the established church system in New England and helped the churches of the middle and southern colonies to cut their ecclesiastical ties to the state-churches in England, Scotland, Holland, and the German states. In this respect the first awakening was a symptom of the acculturation of the immigrant churches, an ecclesiastical declaration of independence from the Old World. But more important, to paraphrase Tocqueville, it brought into being a new system of religion for a New World, a religion that was sectarian and (comparatively) democratic in polity, puritanical in morality, and pietistically evangelical in theology.[26]

In his early tours of the colonies, Whitefield used Wesley's Hymns and Sacred Poems, and the Hymns of Isaac Watts. Whitefield encouraged social singing as well as the singing of hymns and psalms in a worship service. He himself was given to bursting into song while riding or while dining at an inn. "Others sing songs in Publick Houses . . . why

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[26]William McLoughlin, Modern Revivalism (New York: The Ronald Press Co., 1959), p. 9.

should not we sing Psalms?"[27] In his preaching services spontaneous song, gestures, laughter and tears were legitimate means of manipulating the audience.[28]

It is not possible to determine the manner in which the hymns and psalms were sung in the Whitefield meetings, but Louis Benson believed he preferred free musical expression in his revivals.

> The practical influence of Whitefield's preaching, wherever he went, outside of such parish churches as suffered him, was overwhelmingly in favor of the singing of hymns as distinguished from metrical psalms. This was not only from the force of his personal example in using hymns freely, but because the evangelical fervor he aroused demanded an evangelical response from his auditors.[29]

It is difficult to reconcile "lining-out" of psalmody with the spontaneous expressions of preacher and people which were described in Whitefield's Journals. But yet, Hogarth, in his painting Credulity, Superstition and Fanaticism (1762) depicted a parish clerk lining-out the text while Whitefield ranted in the pulpit. Granting Hogarth's hyperbole, it seems reasonable to assume that some trace of lining-out was still to be found. It is probable that practices varied according to the community and the type of religious service.

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[27]Quoted by Stuart Clark Henry, George Whitefield, Wayfaring Witness (New York: Abingdon Press, 1957), p. 37.

[28]Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), p. 25.

[29]Benson, op. cit., p. 316.

The itineracy of Whitefield and the removal of the revival meetings into public houses and the streets also removed the musical practices of the enthusiasts from the traditions of formal worship and clerical control.

Whitefield did not feel the need to compile his own hymnbook, Hymns for Social Worship, until 1753. It contained hymns by Cennick and Charles Wesley but most were taken from Watts. In order to avoid differences of theology which separated the two Methodist factions, he made some changes in the Wesleyan hymns, widening further the disagreement between the two leaders. It is probable that Whitefield brought copies of the book with him to America, but there is little evidence that they were widely used. Two reprints appeared in 1768, one of which was marked "thirteenth edition," but the distribution and use of the books cannot be documented. It is possible that they suffered the same fate as the collections of the Wesleys which had little part in the course of revivalism until after the Revolutionary War.[30]

Itineracy and Separatism, 1740-1760

The preaching mannerisms of the early evangelists were imitated and improved on by their followers. George Whitefield had adopted a "godly tone," a type of speech-song, early in his ministry. Later, the "holy whine" be-

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[30]A record of the American editions of Whitefield's Hymns is given in Appendix I.

came a trademark of the lay-exhorters.[31] Gilbert Tennent's voice was strident and harsh, and often rose to the edge of hysteria, but in general the Tennents disapproved of much emotional display in their services. Joseph Fish wrote that James Davenport spoke:

> . . . with a strange, unnatural singing tone, which mightily tended to raise or keep up the affections of weak and undiscerning people, and consequently, to heighten the confusion among the passionate of his hearers. Which odd and ungraceful tuning of the voice, in exercises of devotion, has, from thence been propagated down to the present day [1765], and is become one of the characteristics of a false spirit, and especially of a separate; that sect being almost universally distinguished by such a tone.[32]

Screams and moans accompanied Davenport's preaching, as the "spirit moved" upon the congregation. The hysterical outbreaks caused by the preaching of the New Side men were considered the "animal reaction" to the struggle of the soul and incidental to the concern for salvation. They were either ignored or suppressed by the evangelists.[33] The Presbyterians never consciously encouraged an emotional reaction to their preaching, but the Congregationalists were not so particular:

> Their main Design in Preaching seems not so much to inform Men's Judgements as to terrify and affright their Imaginations; and by awful Words and frightful Representations, to set the Congregation into

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[31]This manner of speaking is still affected by white and Negro evangelists in certain areas of the South.

[32]Joseph Fish, The Church of Christ a Firm and Durable House (New London: Timothy Green, 1767), pp. 116-17.

[33]Trinterud, op. cit., pp. 183-84.

> hideous Shrieks and Out-cries. . . Some will faint away, fall down upon the Floor, wallow and foam; some Women will rend off their Caps, Handkerchiefs and other Cloaths, tear their Hair down about their Ears, and seem perfectly bereaved of their Reasons.[34]

As the revival progressed and the division of the churches into pro-revivalist and anti-revivalist camps grew, communication between the parties deteriorated. Among the Congregationalists, already split into New Lights and traditional Calvinist churches, a third group, the Separatists, appeared. These were the most militant of the three divisions in their enthusiasm for the revival. Their leader was James Davenport (1716-1757). After his initial itineracy, Davenport returned to the New Lights as pastor of a church in New York and abandoned the manner of preaching which had made him the most popular of the Separatist exhorters.

Davenport left his congregation in 1741 to join the itinerants moving into Connecticut. In July at New London the following scene took place:

> Divers women were terrified and cried out exceedingly. When Mr. Davenport had dismissed the congregation some went out and others stayed; he then went into the broad alley which was much crowded, and there he screamed out, "Come to Christ! Come to Christ! Come away!" Then he went into the third pew on the women's side, and kept there, sometimes sing-

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[34]From the Boston Post-Boy, September 28, 1741, quoted in Newlin, Philosophy, p. 78.

> ing, sometimes praying; he and his companions all taking their turns, and the women fainting and in hysterics. This confusion continued till ten o'clock at night, And then he went off singing through the streets.[35]

When Davenport's itineracy and meddling in the affairs of stable congregations drew criticism from the clergy, the evangelist began a strong counter-attack by preaching outside their churches and carrying away those members who would follow him, until he was finally imprisoned for his activities.

In 1743, at New London, Davenport ordered his followers to burn their wigs, fine clothes, and jewelry. Several nights later, he led them in burning all "heretical" books, including many by the Congregationalist clergy, while they marched around the pyre singing and shouting "Hallelujah, Glory to God!"[36] In Charlestown, Massachusetts, a group of ministers banded together to protest Davenport's attacks on the clergy, the encouraging of lay people to pray and preach in public, and his singing in the streets.[37] Charles Brockwell, Anglican rector of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, described a Separatist meeting:

> Their behaviour is indeed as shocking, as uncomon, their groans, cries, screams, & agonies must affect the Spectators were they never so obdurate & draw tears even from ye most resolute, whilst the ridiculous & frantic gestures of others cannot but excite both laughter & contempt, some leaping, some laugh-

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[35] Diary of Joshua Hempstead of New London, Connecticut (New London: 1901), p. 379.

[36] Goen, op. cit., pp. 24-25.

[37] Ibid., p. 24.

ing, some singing, some clapping one another upon the back, etc.[38]

The Separatists were the first to institutionalize the revival fervor. For them there was a way to know whether or not one was of God's "elect," and better still, they were convinced that they had the means of leading others to this knowledge. Davenport and his followers believed they had a "key of knowledge," a secret sense possessed by a converted sinner enabling him to judge whether or not another individual was "redeemed." This recognition of an "inner light" among the Separatists was used as a means of attacking the clergy (who seldom showed such a "light") as unregenerate.

The discovery of an individual's salvation progressed through the three stages recognized by Edwards, Whitefield and the early revivalists. First, there was the recognition of the sinful state of man with accompanying fear, anxiety, and distress at the damnation that was their just reward. Second, there was a state of utter dependence on the mercy of God in the hope that the individual was one of the chosen few to be saved. Third, there was relief and elation which came when God chose to reveal his plan to the sinner. This was the "assurance" of salvation which conservative anti-revivalists believed impossible to obtain before death.

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[38]Charles Brockwell, in a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel dated February 18, 1741, quoted in Goen, op. cit., p. 181. The complete text may be found in W. S. Perry, Historical Collections, III, p. 354.

The Separatists in effect were returning to the experiential peity of their Puritan forefathers, an emotional conversion based on Edwards' ideas of the working of the Holy Spirit within the consciousness of the individual. The working of the Holy Spirit was induced by forceful preaching and fervent prayer. Emphasis on a mystical experience as the means of conversion was the cause of the emotional excitement which became the trademark of their meetings.

It was only natural that the relief which accompanied the successful third stage would be expressed in joy and singing; the following is an early example of the secular nature of the music:

> Mr. Gilman came in, and after him a number of these highflyers, raving like mad men, reproaching, reflecting. One, Hannah Huckins, in a boasting air, said she had gone through adoption, justification and sanctification and perfection and perseverance. She fell to dancing round the room, singing some dancing-tunes, jiggs, minuets, and kept the time exactly with her feet.[39]

The practice of expressing the new-found assurance of salvation by singing among both Separatists and New Lights was one of the points of contention between revivalist and anti-revivalist parties in the colonies. In 1742, the Reverend Ebenezer Turell published a Direction for his people which condemned various practices of the

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[39] Diary of Samuel Chandler, quoted in Goen, op. cit., p. 182.

evangelicals.[40] Of the thirteen items in his Direction, two, numbers twelve and thirteen, deal with singing:

> 12. I can't see thro' Ministers introducing Hymns of human Composition into great and mixed Assemblies. . . .
>
> 13. To sing them, or the Psalms of David about the Streets and in Ferry-Boats looks as like Pharasaism as one Egg is like Another. And it must be owned that such as follow this Practice in Evening, yea, late in the night (which they can show no Precept for) tends to disturb Families, and has been the Occasion for much Sin, in this Neighbourhood.[41]

Such a charge was quickly answered by one of the ministers involved in the activities, Andrew Crosswell:

> Your 12th and 13th Articles or Objections both relate to Singing. As to the former, whether there is any Harm in singing devout Hymns before publick Worship, to elevate the Soul to God, especially if they are first read over to the People that they may the better understand them, as I think hath been the Practice: Let all serious and lively Christians judge. And as to the latter, viz. Persons singing Hymns and Psalms of David in Ferry-Boats and sometimes late at night in the streets as you complain; I cannot be of your Mind that this is Pharisaism; if it was it would not make Pharisees so angry; some of whom, I am informed are more zealous against this godly Practice than they are against singing Leud and Prophane songs, or even against cursing and swearing which they so often hear in Ferry-Boats and as they walk in the streets. . .[42]

Mr. Crosswell continued his justification for the enthusiastic singing of the Separatists by introducing a concept which became a primary characteristic of revivalistic

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[40]Ebenezer Turell, Direction to His People with Relation to the Present Time (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742).

[41]Ibid., p. 13.

[42]Andrew Crosswell, A Letter from Rev. Andrew Crosswell to the Rev. M. Turell (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742), p. 13.

music among later evangelicals: that is, revival songs have the power to initiate the three stages of conversion without benefit of other means.[43]

> The hearing of others at a Distance, sing Praises to the Redeemer, causes their Hearts to burn within them; and blows up the Spark of Love into a Flame . . . And as to those Persons that are disgusted at it, I believe singing in their hearing will be the likeliest Way to do them Good: Many such having already dated their saving Convictions from hearing the Children of Zion rejoice in their King. Surely, thought they in themselves, we are no Christians, since we don't love to praise Christ ourselves, and feel such an Enmity when we hear others praise him; and thereupon they were pricked to the Heart and had no Rest till they had rested upon the Rock Christ Jesus.[44]

The argument of Crosswell had little effect, although both the Direction and the answering Letter went through at least three editions and were widely circulated. It is interesting to note that Turell did not object to texts by Watts, but to a type of doggerel then circulating. Charles Evans in his Bibliography lists no significant collection of texts applicable to revivalism in existence in 1742 other than those of Wesley and Watts.[45] Turell's objection to the hymns being used was the danger of apostasy:

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[43]This concept has been used by revivalists to justify the use of particular types of music and texts which are generally unacceptable within the context of Protestant worship services.

[44]Crosswell, op. cit., p. 14.

[45]John Wesley, Collection of Psalms and Hymns (Charles-Town [Charleston, S. C.]: 1737).

> We are much obliged to Dr. Watts and others for the parts done by them. What I am against is every Preachers bringing what Hymns and Sonnets he pleases to be sung among us. I have Reason to fear that Heresy may creep in at this Door . . . now it seems that the Psalms themselves may be almost wholly laid aside in private Meetings . . . and meer human Composures and some of them low enough too, without much Opposition introduced.[46]

Davenport may have written numerous texts for his followers. In 1742 he published two texts which show his joyous enthusiasm, one of which, based on the text of the Magnificat, was included by compilers in various collections in the nineteenth century.

My soul doth magnify the Lord,
My spirit doth rejoice
In God my Savior, and my God;
I hear his joyful voice.

I need not go abroad for joy
Who hath a feast at home;
My sighs are turned into songs,
My Comforter is come.

Then should I flee far hence away,
Leaving this world of Sin;
Then should my Lord put forth his Hand
And kindly take me in.

Then should my Soul with angels feast
On joys that always last
Blest be my God, the God of Joy
Who gives me here a taste.[47]

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[46]Ebenezer Turell, Dialogue Between a Minister and his Neighbour about the Times (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742), p. 13.

[47]James Davenport, A Song of Praise (Boston: Rogers and Fowle, 1742). The full title of the hymn is "A Song of Praise for Joy in the Holy Ghost." It describes the "Gift of the spirit" or the knowledge of salvation that often erupted in a soaring exultation that was objectionable to the anti-revivalists. The reappearance of this text among the folk hymns of 1780 is discussed in Chapter IV.

In the second text published in Davenport's tract, also in common meter, he expressed his own ideas about singing and his religious experience:

> Where God doth dwell, sure Heaven is there,
> And Singing there must be;
> Since Lord, thy Presence makes my Heaven--
> Whom shall I sing but thee?
>
> My God, my reconciled God,
> Creator of my peace;
> Thee will I love, and praise and sing
> Till life and breath shall cease.[48]

The center of the Separatist controversy was New England. Jonathan Edwards, who took upon himself the responsibility of maintaining the revival among Congregationalists without completely destroying the standing order, expressed himself regarding the "objectionable singing" of the sect. He believed, like Crosswell, that the attack on the Separatists' singing was part of a general objection to all revivalistic activity.

> Another thing that some have found Fault with, is abounding so much in singing, in religious Meetings. Objecting against such a Thing as this seems to arise from a Suspicion already established of this Work.[49]

Edwards did not condone the uninhibited singing of the Separatists and in his caution against misuse of hymns he touched on the basic change which the revival brought about in the singing of Calvinist congregations. The change was implicit in the hymns used by Whitefield and the Wesleys,

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[48] Ibid.

[49] Jonathan Edwards, Some Thoughts, p. 182.

but did not emerge as a new factor until the hymns of Newton and Cowper and the enthusiasm of the Separatists drew attention to it. The point of controversy emerged as a transformation of singing from a duty or a "divine exercise" which Christians were obligated to perform within the framework of a worship service, to a personal expression of religious sentiment. Edwards believed that personal feeling was the initiating impulse of religious song, but like his contemporaries he emphasized the manner of the exercise and not its content. His objections were based not on theology but aesthetics:

> One thing more I would take Notice of . . . is the Mismanagement that has been in some Places of the Duty of singing Praises to God. I believe it to have been one Fruit of the extraordinary Degrees of the Sweet and joyful Influences of the Spirit of God that have been lately given, that there has appeared such a Disposition to abound in that Duty, frequently to fall into this divine Exercise, not only in appointed solemn Meetings but when Christians occasionally meet together at each other's Houses. But the Mismanagement I have Respect to, is the getting into a Way of performing it, without almost any Appearance of that Reverence and Solemnity with which all visible, open Acts of Worship ought to be attended; it may be two or three in a Room singing Hymns of Praise to God, . . . with little more Appearance of Regard to what is doing, than if some were only singing a common song, for their Amusement and Diversion. There is a Danger, if such things are continued, of its coming to that by Degrees, that a meer Nothing be made of this Duty, to the great Violation of the third commandment. Let Christians abound as much as they will in this holy, heavenly Exercise, in God's House and in their own Houses; but when it is performed, let it be performed as an holy Act, wherein they

have immediately and visibly to do with God.[50]

Edwards was also a practical man and was willing to sacrifice that part of the revival enthusiasm which had become a part of public controversy:

> With Respect to Companies singing in the streets, going to, or coming from the Place of publick Worship . . . Nothing can be expected to be the Consequence of this, than Uproar and Confusion, and great Offense, and unhappy mischievous Disputes, even among the Children of God themselves: . . . it ought to be Forborn "till the visible Church of God is so prepared for it, at least, that there is a Probability that it will not do more Hurt than Good, or hinder the Work of God more than promote it. . . . If it be brought in, when the country is so unprepared, that the Shock and Surprise on Person's Minds, and the Contention and Prejudice against religion, that it is like to be an Occasion of, will do more to hinder Religion, than the Practice of it is like to do to promote it. . . .[51]

Edwards did approve of public singing of large congregations; again the assertion of church control:

> Should [there] be frequent Occasions for a considerable part of a Congregation to go together to the Places of Publick Worship, and there was in other Respects a proportionable Appearance of Fervency of Devotion, it appears to me that it would be ravishingly beautiful, if such Things were practiced all over the Land, and would have a great Tendency to enliven, animate and rejoice the Souls of God's Saints and greatly to propagate vital Religion.[52]

The Separatists withdrew from congregations which did not accept the revivalistic pattern of conversion be-

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[50] Ibid., pp. 316-17.

[51] Ibid., pp. 317-18.

[52] Ibid., pp. 321-22.

cause they felt that only in this manner could they realize the purity of membership that was known in the golden age of their forefathers. Their separation into independent bodies was not only an attempted reform of the church and society in the revivalistic pattern, it was an assertion of the freedom of conscience and the right of the individual that would be the basis for the emerging democratic institutions of the New World.

Elisha Paine (1693-1775), a Separatist evangelist, felt that he was "called of God" to preach the gospel. This "call" was made known to him by an "inner voice," a justification accepted by Separatists for a variety of departures from established traditions. Paine's belief that his personal "call" was more important than a valid license to preach was a typical example of the recognition of personal rights over those of the state or the church.

> They made important contributions in the struggle for religious liberty by reinforcing the rising tide of democratic individualism in politics. The overwhelming number of their converts soon filled the back country with churches; and their untutored pastor-evangelists furnished the prototype of the Baptist "farmer-preacher," the institution that proved so significant in the numerical growth and westward expansion of the denomination.[53]

The "Separatists" disappeared as a distinct sect by 1770, but their absorption into what are now called Baptist congregations completely changed the nature of that denomination which had, in the early years of the Great Awakening,

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[53]Goen, op. cit., p. 299.

remained apart from Whitefield and the itinerants.

> One of the amazing aspects of the story of the Separate Baptists is that they bore off the largest fruit of the Great Awakening to a denomination that had remained largely aloof from the sweeping movement. But the revivalistic tradition, and the evangelistic zeal that keeps it alive, come to prevail among Baptists chiefly through the direct influence of the Separates.[54]

Many Separatists went back into Congregationalist churches which moved nearer to their revivalistic pattern of activity. The churches which appeared in frontier communities after 1750 were called Baptist or Congregationalist, but their doctrine and practices were Separatist.[55]

From the beginning of the Great Awakening, the rural frontier churches had been most receptive to the revival; and, as new areas opened in Maine, New Hampshire, Vermont and western New York, the Separatists were among the first to move in.

After 1740 the Baptists spread past the Alleghenies. Under Shubal Stearns and Daniel Marshall an exodus to the South took place and in the backwoods regions of the Carolinas and Tennessee the Baptists enjoyed a tremendous growth chiefly because of their perpetuation of the revivalistic method that Whitefield himself had introduced there.

Separate Baptist congregations bequeathed to modern

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[54] Ibid., p. 282.

[55] From this point the terms Separatist and Baptist will be used interchangeably.

Baptists the revivalistic tradition in which all doctrinal distinctions were subordinated to the evangelistic imperative. This factor more than any other contributed to their widespread growth. Goen stated that it was this sect

> . . . in which the prophetic individualism of the early Puritans was fully (and perhaps permanently) institutionalized. In and after the Revolutionary era, they were able to realize their ideals of liberty and freedom, while the rise of republicanism encouraged their pioneering spirit of independent self-sufficiency. They were thus the religious harbingers of the "Age of the Common Man."[56]

Early religious folk song, inspired by revivalistic religion, was at its greatest vigor in the period 1780 to 1830 among the Baptists.[57] Two streams of musical practice followed in the wake of the Great Awakening, the "era of Watts" and the "folk-hymn tradition." The two traditions will form the subject of the following section.

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[56] Ibid., p. 294.

[57] George Pullen Jackson used the term "Old Baptist music" to describe the folk hymns which belong to the Separatist tradition of the eighteenth century. This supports Goen's observation of the relationship between the sects and, in part, becomes the basis for my selection of these hymns in Chapter IV as the musical expression of the rural evangelicals of the Great Awakening.

CHAPTER III

ISAAC WATTS AND ECCLESIASTICAL TRADITION

The revival of religion in America called the Great Awakening did not end abruptly: the forms created by it were institutionalized in the sects which were delineated during the course of the initial excitement. After the spread of the revival into all of English-speaking America in the period 1740-1743, three distinct streams of religious activity can be defined.

The purpose of this and the following chapters is to describe and document the residual effects of revivalistic activity in the music of American religious bodies in the period 1740-1800. I have divided the churches into groups according to their relationship to the religious revival in order to describe the changes in their musical practices produced by vestigial elements of the revival. The three classifications are:

1. Conservative, anti-revivalistic Calvinists, commonly called "Old Lights" in New England, "Old Side" Presbyterians in the middle colonies, and Anglicans who were outside the mainstream of evangelical controversy by virtue of their strong church authority and relationship

to the King. Generally these congregations were centered in the populated coastal areas. By 1800, the former were either absorbed into moderate evangelical or "New Light" bodies or became Unitarian in doctrine. Harvard University was their chief center of training for the ministry.

2. Evangelical Calvinists within the established denominational structure, called "New Lights" in New England and "New Side" Presbyterians in the middle colonies. These churches advocated the revivalistic pattern of church activity and emphasized a "conversion" or strong emotional experience rather than adherence to a creed as a test of church membership. The moderate evangelicals were the inheritors of the established church structure in New England by the end of the century. Their ministers were educated at Yale University and the College of New Jersey which was formed by "New Light" ministers after the "log college" of William Tennent was closed in 1744.

3. The Separatists and Separate Baptist congregations were less concerned with doctrine than with experiential piety and mystical experience. The chief difference between the revival-oriented sects and the revivalistic new orders in Congregationalism and Presbyterianism was in the degree of emotional expression present in their meetings and their voluntary disfranchisement in New England. Generally, Separatists were denied educational privileges

and their ministers were chosen for their particular powers of exhortation rather than their theological preparation. Separatists usually required that a minister speak without a manuscript and allow himself to be "led by the spirit" in his sermon. The Separatists were most numerous among the lower economic classes and the restless elements which were constantly pushing toward the frontier areas.[1]

To the denominations listed above should be added the Methodists, who were in isolated minorities within the Anglican fellowship. After 1741 their numbers increased but they did not become a factor in American evangelical activity until the end of the century. Baptists, delineated by their peculiar doctrines of "believer's" or adult baptism, closed communion, and strict separation of church and state, were to be found in all three streams of evangelical practice.

In general, the period 1743 to 1800 displayed a gradual decline of the Calvinism of the first half of the century and an acceptance of moderate evangelicalism in most urban areas. On the frontier there was a gradual dissolution of denominational differences and a movement

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[1]Goen, op. cit., p. 107. The Separatists were not exclusively of a lower income and educational bracket. Elisha Paine, a lay-exhorter, was a successful lawyer, and Isaac Backus, pastor of the Baptist church of Middleborough, was one of the most eloquent historians of the period.

toward a universal evangelical faith based on revivalistic patterns.[2] Among the three traditions of evangelical activity there was an exchange of elements as social and economic conditions within the community changed. "New Light" congregations tended to become more conservative and less revivalistic as their economic conditions improved; Separatists continued to move westward and develop mores peculiar to their new environment. One example of a musical practice which crossed from one tradition to another was that of the singing school, which began, in 1720, as the tool of the urban Calvinists, but, by 1780, had become the means by which "New Light" singing-school masters distributed their new tunes for the texts of Isaac Watts and the English Evangelicals. By 1845 the singing-school masters were most active in the rural areas and incorporated into their publications the tunes and texts of the spirituals and religious folk-songs of the frontier revivals.

The conservative Calvinists were primarily anti-revivalists, and their music was not influenced greatly by evangelical developments in hymnody. The term "conserva-

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[2]Early evangelicals emphasized the conversion experience rather than doctrinal distinctions as the basis for church membership. On the frontier the Plan of Union of 1801 allowed free exchange of New Side Presbyterian and New Light Congregationalists. The only distinction between churches seems to have been their ties to parent associations in settled areas, and in the case of Baptists, their unique ordinances.

tive Calvinist" perhaps is misleading for congregations in the second half of the eighteenth century. These churches, centered in urban areas and made up of the better educated citizens, quickly moved toward Deism and Unitarianism, leaving the evangelicals as defenders of the Calvinistic tradition. Their singing practices changed as did their basic theology by the end of the eighteenth century. The churches which espoused Unitarian doctrines in the eighteenth century were among the first to adopt free hymnody in New England. Watts' Hymns was used in the church at Brattle Square in Boston as early as 1753, appended to the New Version of Tate and Brady.[3] A collection of hymns, Sacred Poetry, Consisting of Psalms and Hymns, adapted to Christian devotion in public and private, by Jeremy Belknap was widely used after 1795 with various editions of Watts. The Belknap collection was intended to supply both factions in Congregationalism, evangelical and Unitarian. Later, Unitarian collections avoided evangelical texts entirely and, after 1800, Watts was seldom used.[4] Many congregations apparently accepted Watts not because his texts had evangelical relevance, but because they were an improvement over existing collections of metrical psalmody.

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[3]Benson, op. cit., p. 173.

[4]For a more complete discussion of Unitarian hymnody during this period, see Benson, op. cit., pp. 172-177.

It is perhaps significant that the conservative churches, those least touched by the revival, and Harvard University produced few native musicians of merit during this period. The urban congregations retained close ties with European musical activity and there were many professional musicians of German and English descent who were brought to America as organists or choral directors. Samuel Holyoke and Jacob Kimball, two Harvard graduates to achieve recognition for their musical activities, did not keep themselves entirely apart from evangelical hymnody. Holyoke's The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony contained Watts' Psalms and Hymns, each with its own tune in four parts.[5] In 1804 he compiled The Christian Harmonist for urban Baptists, which contained settings of Rippon's Selection and texts from Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns.[6]

The Music of the Moderate Evangelicals

The influence of the revival on the music of the "new orders" of New England and the middle colonies was dramatic. The end result of revivalism on the music of the moderate evangelicals was the complete supplantation of the older psalmody by the Psalms and Hymns of Isaac Watts. To 1740, only The Divine and Moral Songs for the Use of Children by

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[5]Samuel Holyoke, The Columbian Repository of Sacred Harmony (Exeter, New Hampshire: 1802).

[6]Samuel Holyoke, The Christian Harmonist (Salem: 1804), and Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs (Norwich: Sterry, 1798). Both collections will be treated in Chapter IV.

Watts received any degree of public acceptance in America. Watts discouraged his friends in the colonies from introducing his "system of praise" because of the extremely conservative tastes of American congregations. He was interested in the course of the revival at Northhampton in 1734, and corresponded with Jonathan Edwards regarding its progress.[7]

Reverend Benjamin Colman, pastor of the Brattle Street church in Boston was one of many early supporters of the revival of religion and its new music. As the revival spread out of control, Colman became disillusioned about Whitefield and his followers, but not about the religious concern which was prevalent in New England. From the extensive correspondence between Colman and other New England ministers and the hymn writer, the following statements indicate Watts' concern for the revival. After an attempt to introduce Watts' hymns into a church had failed the English minister wrote:

> Dear Sir, I am well pleased with what you have done relating to my Hymns, for tho I am satisfy'd in myself that it may be a very lawfull and usefull thing to compose new hymns upon evangelic subjects for the Christian church, yet there are times and seasons when we should abstain from this liberty, i.e., when the case is such as may encourage others to publish their follys, their errors, etc., and dishonor the worship of God.[8]

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[7]Benson, op. cit., p. 162.

[8]"The Letters of Isaac Watts," Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, second series, IX, p. 401. The letter is dated September 14, 1743.

Regarding the progress of the revival, Watts said:

> I am very sensible, dear Sir, amongst this great and glorious work of God, and the many individual confusions that attend it, you have all need of a spirit of wisdom & judgement, zeal and prayer, that these present scenes may turn out to the glory of God, the interest of our Redeemer, ye establishment of Christians in faith and love, and the salvation of multitudes of souls. May these blessings therfore be plentifully pour'd out upon you, and may this work of God go on and increase and make itself glorious in ye earth.[9]

Watts was interested in publishing accounts of the American revival in England. In his reprint of a work prepared by Colman and others, he declared it "the plainest and fullest attestation to the late Work of Divine Grace in New England."[10]

Watts was concerned about the excesses of some revival participants:

> As for Mr. Davenport I take him to be distracted. . . . Such warm spirits as Davenport and Crosswell are not fit for manageing so important a work as God has begun and carrys on amongst you.[11]

Isaac Watts died in 1748 before the moderate evangelical churches adopted his Psalms for worship. Although

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[9]Ibid., p. 398, from a letter dated Oct. 22, 1742.

[10]The publication was The Testimony and Advice of an Assembly of Pastors of Churches in New England, at a Meeting in Boston, July 7, 1743, Occasioned by the late Happy Revival of Religion in Many Parts of the Land (Boston: 1743).

[11]Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Association, pp. 398-99.

he must have been aware of the use of his hymns in private meetings and in some isolated revival services, there is little evidence of his feelings regarding the matter.

The urban and village churches were the recipients of Watts' texts in the period 1740-1800. Earlier, The Bay Psalm Book (1698), Kneeland's Psalms, Hymns and Spiritual Songs of the Old and New Testament (25th edition, 1742) and the New Version of Tate and Brady (1698) were in general use. The Psalms of Isaac Watts had been printed by Benjamin Franklin in 1729 but had not sold widely in the colonies.[12] In addition to Franklin's editions, Joseph Edwards published the Psalms in Boston in 1741 and 1743. The books apparently were in short supply during this time despite the fact that numerous European editions were imported. The initial fervor of the revival in 1740 brought about a demand for the books, and Franklin printed a new edition almost yearly after that time.[13] The Hymns and Psalms were not published in a single bound volume until 1789. All of the American editions of Watts' works were the result of speculative efforts on the part of commercial publishers capitalizing on the demand for

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[12]Benson, op. cit., p. 162.

[13]The profusion of editions of Watts' works can be determined most easily from the chronological list which appears in Appendix I. Louis Benson has published a list of the "Americanized" Watts editions which appeared after 1781 in The American Revisions of Watts' Psalms (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Historical Society, 1903).

more evangelical texts among revivalists. There were no attempts by the denominations to compile an edition of the Watts texts for official use until after the Revolutionary War, although Congregationalists approved the use of private editions as early as 1769.

Churches in New England and the middle colonies adopted the Psalms of Watts to replace the New Version or the Bay Psalm Book individually and in direct relation to their use of revivalistic methods. Language barriers in the Dutch Reformed and Lutheran communities prevented any great participation in the revival of the eighteenth century and its music, although they were not entirely unaware of the religious excitement of the time.

The most reluctant of the moderate evangelicals to adopt Watts were the Presbyterians, who allowed use of the Psalms in 1787 but not of the Hymns until 1802.[14] Their official edition of Watts' Psalms did not appear until 1826. The large number of conservative Scotch-Irish colonists who had come to Pennsylvania with an amended version of Rous' The Psalms of David in Meeter bound together with their Bibles prevented a wide acceptance of Watts and

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[14]The edition approved by Presbyterians was that of Joel Barlow, Doctor Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David, Corrected and enlarged by Joel Barlow. To which is added a Collection of Hymns; the whole applied to the state of the Christian Church in general (Hartford: Barlow and Babcock, 1785). Barlow's edition of the Psalms contained seventy hymn-texts by Watts in addition to the paraphrases.

was a factor in creating a controversy over singing practices which lasted down into the nineteenth century.[15]

Among Presbyterians, practices varied according to the temperament of pastor and people regarding revivalism and evangelical music. Typical of New Side ministers was Samuel Davies who served as president of the College of New Jersey. Davies used hymns in addition to the metrical psalms but assigned a homiletical purpose to singing, as had Isaac Watts in his own congregations.[16] Davies used the Psalms and Hymns in spreading the gospel among the Negroes in Virginia, which enabled them "to gratifie their peculiar taste for psalmody."[17]

The change to Watts coincided with the abandonment of many of the old practices of psalmody, lining out and the use of the rough meters of the Rous version. In many instances the parish records note the abandonment of lining

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[15]The "Rankin Controversy" which split Presbyterians at the end of the eighteenth century is representative of the difficulty the advocates of Watts encountered even on the frontier where churches were amenable to revivalistic activity. The controversy is discussed in Robert Davidson, History of the Presbyterian Church in Kentucky (New York: 1847).

[16]After a sermon on God's power and wrath suggested by the Lisbon earthquake of 1755, Davies used his hymn text, "How great, how terrible that God/ Who shakes Creation with his nod!" Davies wrote numerous hymns which were printed in Rippon's Selection of 1787. See Foote, op. cit., p. 150.

[17]From a letter written by Davies to "R. C." requesting copies of Watts' texts, discussed in Stevenson, Protestant Church Music in America, pp. 93-95.

out and the adoption of Watts in the same entry.[18] The change to Watts' Psalms was a change to an evangelical version of the traditional texts of the Calvinists and in a sense represents a compromise between free evangelical hymnody and metrical psalmody. The private editions approved by the churches, however, often contained many hymns or "free" expressions which eventually found their way into general usage. The acceptance of the Psalms, therefore, must be considered as a victory for evangelical hymnody.

Among Congregationalists in New England there was widespread acceptance of Watts. The frequent references to the English king and Great Britain, necessary symbols in Watts' attempt to make the texts more applicable to contemporary events, were unacceptable to patriotic evangelicals after 1776. Joel Barlow was commissioned to prepare an "Americanized" edition, substituting for Watts' symbols those which were acceptable to a free nation.[19] Barlow's edition appeared in 1785 and was rejected by the Congregationalists for straying too far from the original scriptures.[20] A second attempt by Timothy Dwight proved

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[18]Benson, op. cit., p. 193.

[19]Ibid., p. 167.

[20]Doctor Watts' Imitation of the Psalms of David, corrected and enlarged by Joel Barlow, to which is added a collection of Hymns (Hartford: Barlow and Babcock, 1785).

successful and his edition was used well into the nineteenth century.[21]

The editions of Barlow and Dwight contained a number of hymns, many by the compilers themselves. Among the Congregationalists appeared the first extensive compilation of hymns in 1799, the Hartford Selection of Nathan Strong.[22] This collection was intended to be used for revivals and missionary enterprises in New England. The hymns were not intended to replace Watts' Psalms and Hymns and the compilers chose to omit all but a few texts by Watts, employing instead texts from the English evangelicals and Baptists. According to Strong:

> This volume is compiled chiefly from Newton, Cowper, Doddridge, Rippon's Selection and others not in common use.[23]

The Hartford Selection contained 378 hymns, many of which were also to be found in a Baptist collection by Joshua Smith. The publication of Strong's collection coincided with a resurging interest in revivals in the western areas of New England and New York.

The texts of the Hartford Selection are in keeping

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[21]The Psalms of David . . . by Isaac Watts, D.D. A New Version . . . by Timothy Dwight, D.D., President of Yale College. At the request of the General Association of Connecticut (Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin, 1801).

[22]Nathan Strong, Abel Flint, and Joseph Steward, Hartford Selection of Hymns, from the most approved authors, To which are added a number never before published (Hartford: John Babcock, 1799).

[23]Ibid., Preface, p. 14.

with revivalistic emphases which began in 1740. The basic themes are Calvinistic as interpreted by revivalists. There is first of all emphasis on obedience to God as the basis for Christian conduct. This was, in a sense, a reassertion of the old Calvinist concept of a theocratic society. Obedience to God, as delineated by the ministers, and conformity to an ideal accepted by the Christian community was one of the results of the revivalistic excitement of the Great Awakening. Leonard J. Trinterud established this concept as one of the residual effects of revivalism among the New Side Presbyterians:

> The thrusting of obedience to the forefront of the Christian life had its influence upon the whole character of New Side preaching and teaching during the revival and subsequently. The Christian was not to flee the sinful society about him, but to lay hold of it and bring it into at least some degree of conformity to the will of God.[24]

To a lesser extent the doctrine of obedience pervades New Light thought in New England, and Strong's Hartford Selection provides a number of texts on this theme:

> Sinners, the Voice of God regard,
> 'Tis mercy speaks today;
> He calls you by his sovereign Word
> From sin's destructive way.[25]

The second most prominent theme in the collection is that of warning to the sinner. This is in keeping with

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[24]Trinterud, op. cit., p. 194

[25]Nathan Strong, op. cit., p. 50.

the purpose of the hymns to assist in bringing the unconverted to a conversion experience during the time of a revival:

> But whither sinners, will ye flee
> When nature's mighty frame--
> The ponderous earth and air and sea--
> Shall all dissolve in flame.[26]
>
> And will the Judge descend?
> And must the dead arise,
> And not a single soul escape
> His all-discerning eyes.
>
> How will my heart endure
> The terrors of that day
> When earth and heaven before his face
> Astonished shrink away[27]

Even though the collection seems to have been intended to impart alarm to the sinner, it is tempered with hymns of assurance and rejoicing:

> There is a fountain filled with blood
> Drawn from Immanuel's veins;
> And sinners plunged beneath that flood
> Lose all their guilty stains.[28]

Generally the texts do not display the bounding joyousness of Watts' Psalms, primarily because the Psalms were reserved for Christians to sing in worship and the Hartford Selection, while being adaptable to "private devotion" was to be used homiletically to enforce an

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[26] Ibid., p. 360.

[27] Ibid., p. 361.

[28] Ibid., p. 64.

evangelistic sermon. When the joyous state of the Christian was described, it was usually in terms that were somewhat reserved when compared to Joshua Strong's Divine Hymns, a Separatist Baptist collection, and Watts' own hymns.

> Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song,
> The joy of my heart and the boast of my tongue,
> Thy free grace alone, from the first to the last
> Has won my affection, and bound my soul fast.[29]

The Texts Used by the Moderate Evangelicals

If the revivalism of the eighteenth century was a return to the fundamentals of Calvinism in a new context, it is difficult to explain the radical change from traditional metrical psalmody to the free paraphrases of Watts. Therefore, it becomes necessary to look beyond the obvious improvement in prosody and literary value of his work over the Bay Psalm Book and the Rous version used by the colonists. The Psalms of Watts represented a compromise between the old tradition and free hymnody, but there are definite elements in the texts of Watts which make them amenable to revivalism within the framework of the cherished Puritan psalmody. Some are merely implied from a reading of the entire work; others are explicit.

From the texts one gets an immediate change of mood from that of the older versions, the most evident being a new note of joyous confidence. The Biblical texts which

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[29]Ibid., p. 12.

dwelled on the persecution and tribulations of the psalmist were omitted or subordinated to "praise," which meant glorifying God in song. The purpose of Watts was to make the psalms expressive of contemporary Christian sentiment; hence God's mercy and the person of Christ and his act of redemption, a cause for rejoicing, permeate the entire work.

> Now I am thine, forever thine
> Nor shall my Purpose move;
> Thy hand has loosed my Bonds of Pain,
> And bound me with thy Love.[30]

Another factor in the texts of the Psalms which was characteristic of the revivalistic fervor was the restatement of basic Calvinistic rather than Arminian doctrines. Watts himself never espoused the teachings of John Wesley and consequently his verses do not present a universal salvation. According to Watts, salvation was the free gift of God bestowed not as a result of any act of the individual:

> My Eyes with Expectation fail,
> My Heart within me cries;
> When will the Lord his Truth fulfill,
> And make my Comforts rise?[31]

But the Calvinism of Watts was a new application in a new time and place. The revivalists also emphasized that God had not changed but that the church and society, failing to

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[30]Isaac Watts, The Psalms of David, imitated (Boston: G. Rogers and D. Fowle, 1741), Psalm CX, p. 241.

[31]Ibid., Psalm CXIX, p. 257.

acknowledge God's standards of conduct in their own time, had to renew the old faith:

> All ye that love the Lord rejoice.
> And let your songs be new;
> Amidst the Church with chearful Voice
> His later Wonders shew.[32]

There were in Watts' Psalms texts which were applicable to each state of the conversion experience, and as the sinner successfully passed through these periods of fear and anxiety, resignation and hopefulness, assurance and elation, the texts had a great personal impact.[33]

> Lord, I am vile, conceived in Sin;
> And born unholy and unclean;
> Sprung from the Man whose guilty Fall,
> Corrupts the Race and taints us All.[34]

> My Heart with sacred Rev'rence hears
> The Threat'nings of thy Word;
> My Flesh with holy trembling fears
> The Judgements of the Lord.[35]

> Then how the frighted Sinners fly
> To God for Help with earnest Cry!
> He hears their Groans, prolongs their Breath,
> And saves them from approaching Death.[36]

> What Wonders shall thy Gospel do!
> Thy Converts shall surpass
> The numerous Drops of Morning-Dew
> And own thy sovereign Grace.[37]

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[32]Ibid., Psalm CXLIX, p. 316.

[33]This process of conversion as interpreted by the revivalists is presented on pp. 31-32.

[34]Watts, The Psalms of David, imitated, Psalm LI, p. 111.

[35]Ibid., Psalm CXIX, p. 258.

[36]Ibid., Psalm CVII, p. 224.

[37]Ibid., Psalm CX, p. 230.

The doctrine of assurance of salvation which was perhaps the chief point of contention between the revivalists and the clergy is implicit in Watts' texts.[38]

The attack on perfunctory orthodoxy by the Tennents and early revivalists may have caused some to recall the text:

> The Lord the Judge his Churches warns,
> Let Hypocrites attend and fear
> Who place their Hope in Rites and Forms
> But make not Faith nor Love their care.[39]

This verse also had application to the controversy of the "pure church" and the "key of knowledge" concepts of the radical Separatists.[40]

There was also in Watts' texts an opportunity for the lower economic classes, who most often espoused the revivalism of the itinerants, to justify their conduct when in conflict with the higher orders. There was also an assertion of the right of free exercise of conscience in religious matters, and possibly in economic and political spheres as well:

> Judges who rule the World by Laws,
> Will ye despise the righteous cause
> When the injur'd Poor before you stands?
> Dare ye condemn the righteous Poor,
> And let rich Sinners 'scape secure,
> While Gold and Greatness bribe your hands?

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[38]This controversy is discussed on page 18. A more complete presentation can be found in Trinterud, op. cit., p. 59, and in Goen, op. cit., pp. 44-48.

[39]Watts, op. cit., Psalm L, p. 104.

[40]See pages 18 and 31, and Goen, op. cit., pp. 40-42 and pp. 159-67.

Have ye forgot, or never knew
That God will judge the Judges too?
High in the Heavens his Justice reigns;
Yet you invade the Rights of God,
And send your bold Decrees abroad
To bind the Conscience with your Chains.[41]

The Tunebooks Used by the Moderate Evangelicals

The change to Watts from the old metrical psalmody had an invigorating effect on the tunes used in the churches. In the wake of the singing schools of Tufts and Walters arose a generation of singers capable of learning new tunes from the printed page and of singing in three and four parts. The church at Northhampton was in the habit of singing in parts when Jonathan Edwards became its pastor. Reprints of tunebooks by William Tans'ur and Aaron Williams were published by Daniel Bayley in Boston in the 1750's, and in 1761 native composers and compilers began to introduce their own collections.

One of the first compilations was Urania, in 1761, prepared by the Reverend James Lyon, a Presbyterian graduate of the College of New Jersey, the institution supported and controlled by the New Side faction after Tennent's "log college" ceased to exist.[42] Urania was the first in a series

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[41]Watts, op. cit., Psalm LVII, p. 119.

[42]James Lyon, Urania, or a choice Collection of Psalm-Tunes, Anthems and Hymns, From the most approved Authors with some Entirely New; in two, three, and four parts (Philadelphia: 1761). James Lyon and Francis Hopkinson, who share the honor of being the first native-born composers of whom there is

of tunebooks in which there were psalm tunes in three or four parts, anthems and the newly imported "fuging tunes" intended to be sung by trained choirs or singing schools. Numerous tunes applicable to congregational singing were introduced in this manner. Urania must not be considered a revival tunebook, that is, a collection intended to be used within the context of a revival meeting; revival influence in this collection and others belonging to the singing-school tradition is in the form of acceptance accorded to Watts' Psalms and hymns of "human composure" by the churches and singing schools. The contribution of revivalism to this widespread acceptance of texts other than those of the New Version and the Bay Psalm Book can not be denied. The influence of revivalism was indirect and limited to the introduction of new texts. The attitude of the composers toward free expression in musical forms as well as texts can be attributed in a small degree to

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record, were educated in colleges which had close connections with the revivalism of 1740. Lyon attended the College of New Jersey during the presidencies of Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Davies. Hopkinson attended the College of Pennsylvania which was created through the efforts of the trustees of the tabernacle erected to house the revival assemblies of George Whitefield. At the time of Hopkinson's matriculation, the tabernacle was used for classes. The influence of revivalists on the two men is an area that merits research. Each of the composers was strongly influenced by the texts of Watts. James Lyon set at least nine of Watts' texts to music: two poems--"A Marriage Hymn" and "Friendship"--and seven Psalms--numbers 8, 17, 19, 23, 95, 104, and 150.

the freedom of musical expression won by the previous generation of revivalists.

In 1763, in Philadelphia, another volume of tunes appeared specifically for the new texts of Watts, Tunes in Three Parts for the several meters of Dr. Watts' Version of the Psalms; some of which are new.[43] There were no names of composers listed above the tunes, and the compilers were anonymous. Few of the tunes were new, most having had widespread distribution in English collections. The tunes were not in the florid style of Martin Madan and William Tans'ur, two English musicians whose tunes were admired by the first generation of American composers.

William Billings, the first composer of psalm tunes to achieve wide recognition as a singing-school master, published The New England Psalm-Singer: or American Chorister, which contained, in addition to psalm tunes in four parts, a large number of anthems and fuging tunes.[44] In Billings' work, as in Urania, revivalistic hymns are almost nonexistent, although Watts' psalms abound. The one recognition of revivalism is the printing of Wesley's "Ah, Lovely Appearance of Death" with the mistaken observation that it had been written by George Whitefield, who intended for it

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[43]Tunes in Three Parts for the several meters of Dr. Watts' Version of the Psalms; some of which are new (Philadelphia: Anthony Armbruster, 1763).

[44]William Billings, The New England Psalm-Singer: or American Chorister (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770).

to be sung at his funeral service.[45]

Jay Murray Barbour, in his analysis of the music of William Billings, found that Watts was the chief source of texts for the composer's fuging tunes, anthems, and psalm tunes. Sixty-five texts were taken from Watt's works and Whitefield's Hymns furnished five. The New Version of the psalms by Tate and Brady supplied only twenty.

Andrew Law, a Congregationalist minister, published a collection of tunes in 1770, A Select Number of Plain Tunes in four parts.[46] This collection was perhaps the most significant compilation of music in its era because of its later appearance in a single binding with Watts' Psalms, published by R. Aitken, John Mycall, and others. Billings, Lyon, and Daniel Bayley's publications each have distinctive characteristics, but they were intended to be used within the scope of the singing-school activities, including per-

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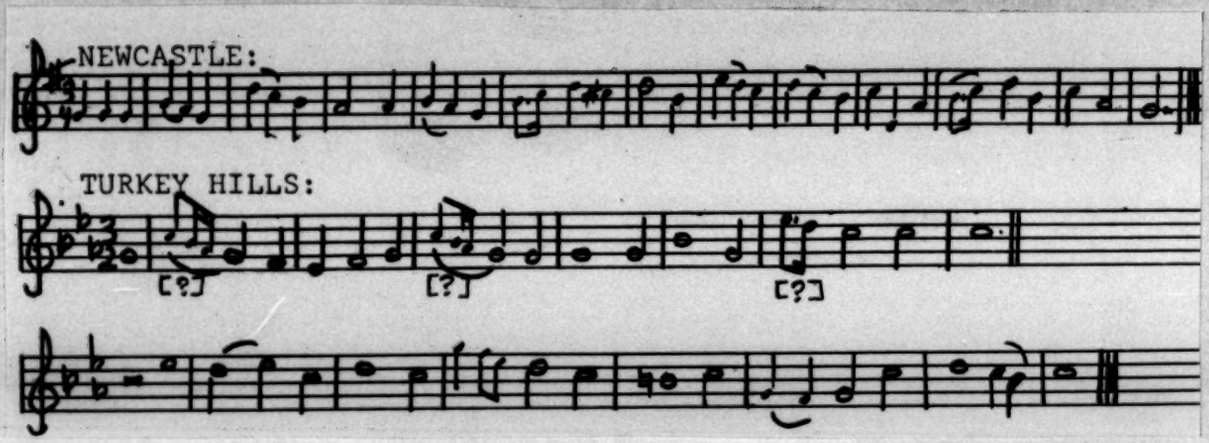
[45]George Whitefield died in 1770, the year in which The New England Psalm-Singer was published. The text also circulated in broadside form in the colonies with the account of his death. The text appears to have been added to the end of the collection as a memorial to the evangelist.

[46]Andrew Law, A Select Number of Plain Tunes Adapted to Congregational Worship (Cheshire: William Law, 1777). Two entries in Evans' Bibliography dated 1767 and 1772, according to Irving Lowens, op. cit., p. 61, refer to an edition of the Psalms of Watts with which the Plain-Tunes are bound as a supplement in 1778. The edition which I examined in microprint (Evans, 10662) is defective, but the absence of a full title page indicated that it appeared as a supplement. It was not possible to determine whether the pages had been originally bound in one fascicle.

formance in the worship services by trained singers. This was not true of Law's Select Number, a collection intended for more general use. The collection Tunes in Three Parts printed by Anthony Armbruster in 1763 was never associated with the Psalms of Watts to the extent of being bound with it in one volume.

Law's collection of fifty-four tunes did not contain set pieces, anthems, or fuging tunes, and no texts appeared under the various voice lines. It was clearly intended as a tune supplement to a collection of Watts' texts, to be used by the singer in the congregation or in private devotion. The format was that of the "pocket tunebook", a vertical arrangement of three tunes, rather than the "long-boy" oblong arrangement preferred by the singing-school masters.

Most of Law's tunes had appeared elsewhere in English or American collections, and although he claimed legal rights to the tunes, they do not represent his own work. Twenty-nine of the forty-four tunes in the Select Number were taken from the American Harmony, the collection of Tans'ur and Williams published by Bailey in 1768. The tunes differ from those in the Armbruster collection chiefly in their rhythmic vitality. Traditional psalm tunes such as ST. ANN and MEAR were present, but of significance are the lively NEWCASTLE and TURKEY HILLS which appear to be harbingers of a new style:



Law compiled the Select Number while a student at Rhode Island College, an institution founded by Baptists. In 1778 he received the M.A. degree, but his compilations continued to carry the signature Andrew Law, A.B. He was granted an honorary Master's degree by Yale and an LL.D. by Allegheny College in Pennsylvania in 1821. Law was an advocate of "good music," and avoided the fuging tunes of his contemporaries. There is little evidence that he took an active part in the revivalism of his time, but his frequent use of Watts' texts and the continuing popularity of his tune supplement to the Psalms link Law with the forces of revivalism of a previous generation.

As the number of tunebooks mounted in response to the need for new music for Watts' texts and for the flourishing singing schools, an accompanying musical style developed which was distinct from that of the melodies which had been used for the Old Version and the Bay Psalm Book. Daniel Read (1757-1836) discussed the changing tastes in the Preface of his The Columbian Harmonist:

> It is however found, that as in other things, so in Psalmody, fassions are continually changing, and that some tunes, which, a few years ago, were much esteemed, are now laid aside, and others introduced in their stead.[47]

In the second edition of The New England Selection, or Plain Psalmodist, Joel Read specifically named the texts for which his new collection was intended:

> He [the compiler] has aimed to supply a sufficient number for the several metres of the Psalms and Hymns in Dr. Watts, Tate and Brady, and Dr. Belknap's Version, in both the cheerful and plaintive keys.[48]

In 1799, Jonathan Benjamin published the first collection of tunes in America intended especially for revivalistic hymn texts.[49] The Hartford Selection of Nathan Strong was published for revivals; the proceeds from the sale of this popular edition went to support the activities of the Missionary Society, at that time the only Congregationalist agency making a concerted effort to spread the gospel to frontier areas of New England and New York. Benjamin's collection, intended for use with the Hartford Selection, was unique because of its emphasis on tunes of recognized European musicians and quality musical perform-

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[47]Daniel Read, The Columbian Harmonist (Dedham, Mass.: H. Mann, 1804), second edition. Parts of the work were originally published as early as 1793.

[48]Joel Read, The New England Selection or Plain Psalmodist Containing a Short Introduction to Psalmody, for the Use of Schools; and a Variety of Tunes Suited to Public Worship (Boston: Manning and Loring, 1812), second edition.

[49]Jonathan Benjamin, Harmonia Coelestis, A Collection of Church Music in Two, Three, and Four Parts (Northhampton: Andrew Wright for Oliver D. and I. Cooke, 1799).

ance. The title page is significant in its entirety:

HARMONIA COELESTIS

a Collection of

CHURCH MUSIC

in two, three, and four parts
with words adapted to each, comprehending not only the metres in common use, But the Particular/ Metres, in the Hartford Collection of Hymns; the tunes correctly figured for the/ Organ and Harpsichord--With an Inttoduction [sic] to Music/ Chiefly Collected from the Greatest Masters in Europe, and never before printed in America/ By Jonathan Benjamin/ Northhampton; Printed typographically, by Andrew Wright for Oliver D. and I. Cooke, Booksellers, Hartford.--Sept. 1799.

In 1799, the widespread acceptance of Watts' Psalms and their accompanying Hymns in the standard meters had caused the terms Psalm-Tune and Hymn-Tune to lose any distinction which may have prevailed earlier. The tunes for the Psalms of Watts compiled by Andrew Law, and those written by various American composers, while exhibiting more rhythmic variety than their predecessors, were nevertheless conservative melodically and rhythmically when compared with those in Benjamin's collection.[50]

The tunes in Benjamin's collection were intended for church performance, not for singing schools, as the title page indicates. Contrary to traditional singing-school practice, the bass line was figured for instrumental performance. From this one may assume that the tunes were

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[50]The musical analysis of the tunes in this collection which is presented at the end of this chapter will confirm this observation.

used privately for social rather than church meetings, because few Congregationalist churches in New England allowed the use of instruments. Those churches which did have an instrument were generally large urban congregations in which revivalism had little influence.

Benjamin's tunes were taken from both European and American composers. No credits were given for individual items.

> The works of Handel, Giardina [sic], Purcell, Madan, Millgrove, Arnold, etc., etc., will recommend themselves. --The public are assured that they are printed verbatim from the original copies. --There are a number of tunes of American composition in this work, but for certain reasons, the authors have not credit for them.[51]

The Harmonia Coelestis was in "long-boy" format and apparently was never bound with the Hartford Selection.[52] There is no record of later editions. The typography was clear, with few errors, although text alignment was faulty.

Benjamin was concerned with the manner in which the music was to be performed. In a section of the Rudiments "Of Graceful Singing" he cautioned against excessive emotion and enthusiasm:

> 1st. Let your Gesture be decent and manly. Avoid every thing that may hurt your voice, or offend your hearers.

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[51] Ibid., Preface, p. 2.

[52] Thus far, I have been able to locate only one copy of Benjamin's 1799 edition, in the collection of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

. . . . . .

3rd. The treble requires delicacy, tameness, the Tenor a medium between effeminate softness and masculine robustness. And the Bass Gravity, pomp, solidity of Voice, and Bold expression.

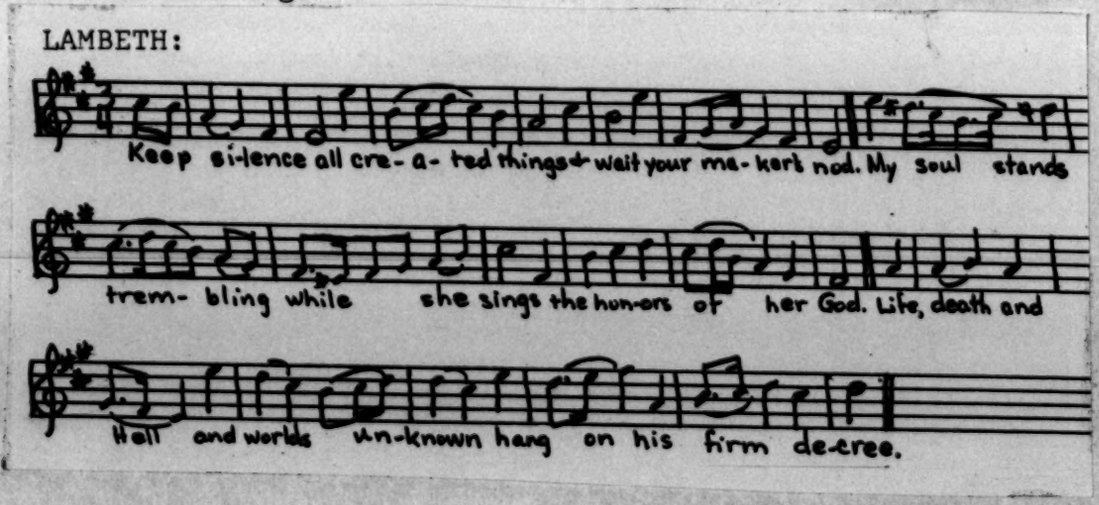
4th. Pay a particular attention to your subject. A man who does not feel or at least seem to feel what he is performing, has no reason to expect a bystander will.

. . . . . .

7th. . .Notice the parts marked F--Forte or P--Piano, i.e. loud and soft . . . .

The failure of this collection of tunes to be reprinted is difficult to understand, but there were several factors which may have contributed to its limited popularity.

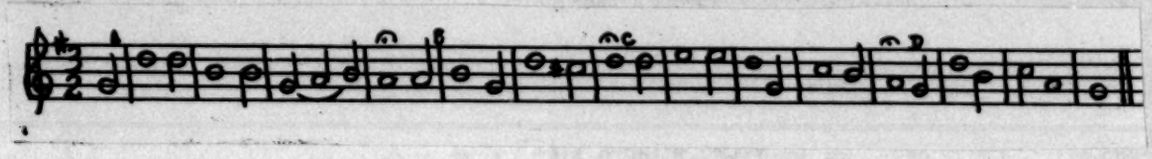
1. Obviously the book was intended for a musically sophisticated choir. The skill required to perform the intricate rhythmic lines did not contribute to general acceptance. The tunes were too complex to be used by a revival congregation. It is difficult to visualize the following tune being performed in the emotional milieu of a revival meeting:


LAMBETH:
Keep si-lence all cre-a-ted things wait your ma-kers nod. My soul stands
trem-bling while she sings the hon-ors of her God. Life, death and
Hell and worlds un-known hang on his firm de-cree.

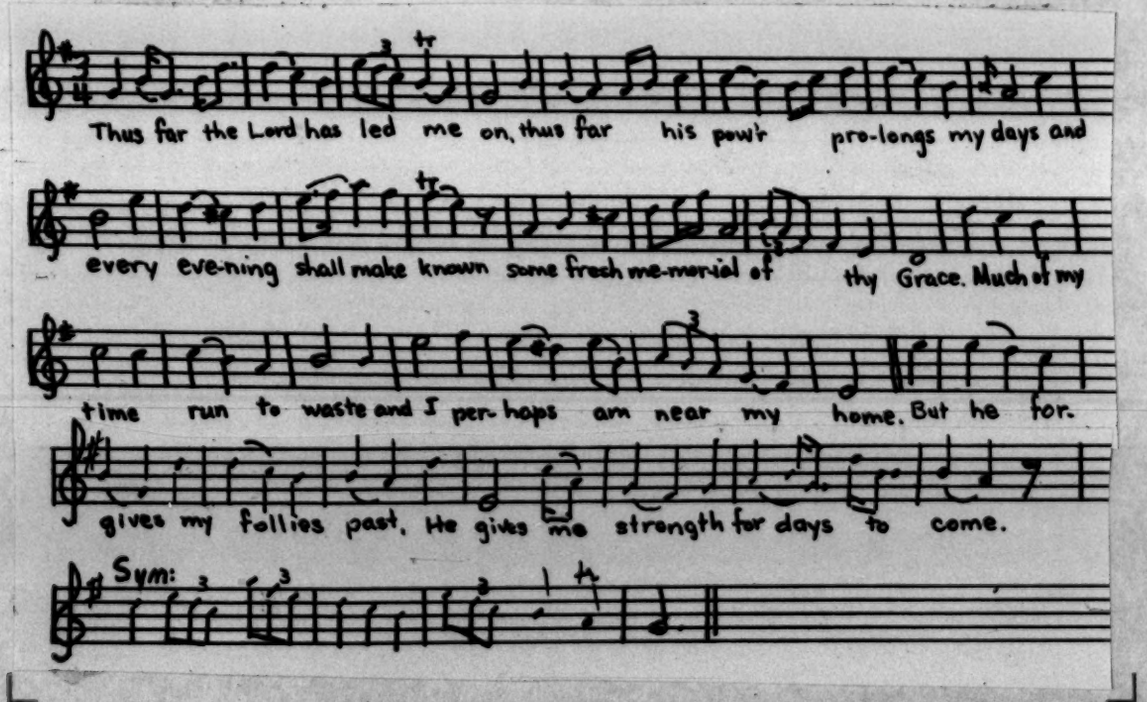
2. The part-writing technique is obviously European. There are no modal harmonies, parallel fifths or octaves, or static repetition of harmonies which characterized the singing-school masters' technique. To a generation rooted in the Anglo-Saxon folk-tradition, many of the tunes and their accompanying voices, taken from the late Baroque Italian vocal and instrumental idiom, were foreign.

3. The tunes were quite different from those of the tradition of psalmody to which the people of New England were exposed. Compare the old favorite MEAR with Benjamin's FULHAM.

MEAR:



FULHAM:


Thus far the Lord has led me on, thus far his pow'r pro-longs my days and
every eve-ning shall make known some fresh me-morial of thy Grace. Much of my
time run to waste and I per-haps am near my home. But he for-
gives my follies past, He gives me strength for days to come.
Sym:

4. The sources from which Benjamin drew his tunes either directly or by way of an English counterpart were often instrumental in character. The nature of the voice lines, the planning of the clearly marked dynamics, and the awkward skips in both the air and accompanying parts clearly indicate instrumental performance. They do not fit into a comfortable vocal register for any but the most accomplished singers.[53]

5. The Harmonia Coelestis was an apparent compromise between a supplement for a hymnal and a singing-school manual. The rudiments section is extremely short compared to companion tunebooks, but the appearance of the tunes in elaborate four-part settings and the oblong format made it more suitable to concert, choir, or singing-school usage than to either congregational worship or revivalistic singing.

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[53]I have been unable to find either praise or criticism of Benjamin's work from his contemporaries, which, in itself, makes the influence of the Harmonia Coelestis suspect. It is highly probable that to many it lacked the "dignity and gravity" mentioned so often by compilers of psalm tunes and consequently was never considered as applicable to the worship experience. It is my opinion, based on a review of eighteen collections of psalm and hymn tunes dating from this period, that a collection as unique as that of Jonathan Benjamin could only have appeared under the auspices of revivalists who were accustomed to religious activity outside the framework of the worship services of the church.

The Psalm and Hymn Tunes

A Musical Analysis

A musical analysis of the psalm tunes used by the moderate evangelicals has been prepared to provide a basis for comparison with other traditions within the scope of this study and to delineate the music as a form-class.

1. Tunes of Native Composers

The tunes selected from singing-school masters were written between 1770 and 1800, and although they were intended to be used for the texts of Isaac Watts, they may be considered as the musical counterpart of all the hymn texts introduced as the result of the revivalism of the eighteenth century.[54] It is incorrect to associate these tunes with the emotion of a revival meeting described by Edwards, Fish, and the Separatists of 1740. The tunes were a result of the freedom of musical expression achieved by revivalism. They are secondary products of the Great Awakening, owing their existence to a renovated musical practice within the framework of established religious institutions, the church and the singing-school.

Most of the tune-writing activity was confined to the New Light Congregationalists between 1760 and 1800. The tunes were written in the florid style of Tans'ur and

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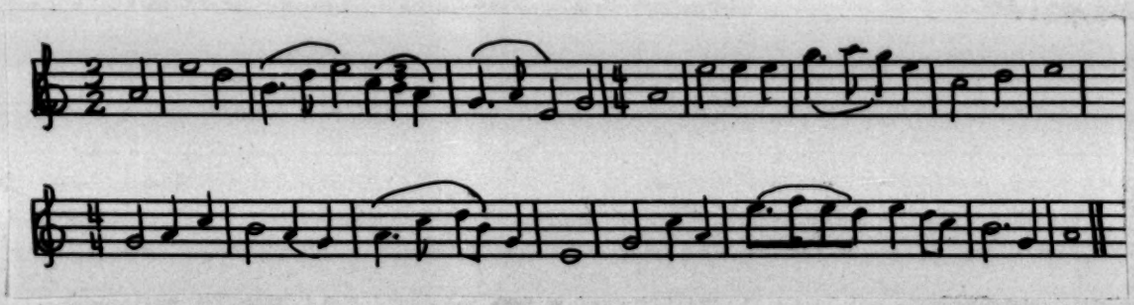
[54]The analysis is based on twenty-six tunes by American composers as they appeared in The Columbian Harmonist (1804) and The New England Selection (1812). The names of the tunes and composers are listed in Appendix IIIa.

Madan, but with more repetition of melodic notes, implying a slower harmonic change, but an intensified rhythmic drive. The following specific characteristics have been determined:

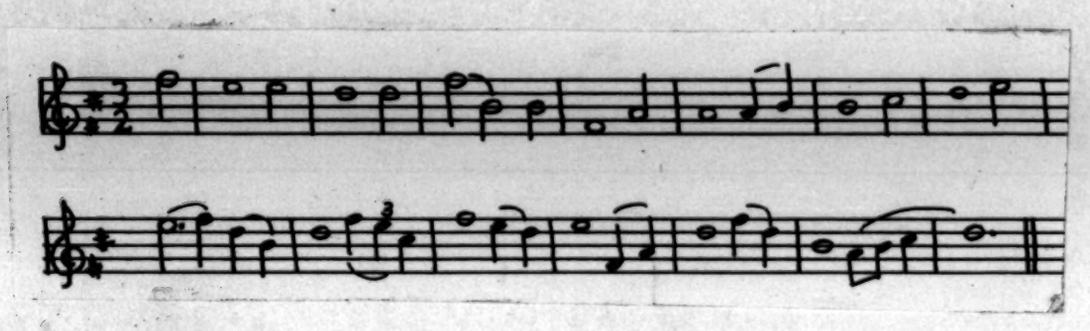
Text Meter: The meters most often used were Common (eight tunes), Long (thirteen tunes), and Particular meter (five tunes).

Form: The most prevalent pattern of four-measure musical phrases was ABCD (through-composed) in ten tunes. Eight-measure tunes, most often seen in doubled meter, also were through-composed, ABCDEFG (four tunes). In six tunes the final phrase or couplet was repeated, resulting in a five- or six-phrase structure ABCDD or ABCDCD. Repetition of phrases in toto was almost non-existent, but definite organic relationships between phrases existed in six tunes. A typical example was AMANDA--AA'BC.



Melodic Range and Contour: Over half of the tunes (fifteen) were written within the span of an octave. Only one, Billings' PARIS, required less than an octave, and

ten extended to 9ths, 10ths, and 11ths. A majority (twenty) began with an ascending opening phrase; five began with a descending motive, including Timothy Swan's enigmatic CHINA.



Only one tune, AMANDA, had an undulating first phrase. Of the twenty-six tunes, only three employed a six-tone scale instead of the seven diatonic tones.

Melodic Modes: Only seven tunes fell in the plagal mode, and of these, five were in a major tonality. There were nineteen tunes in the authentic mode; ten of the twelve tunes in minor were in this category.

Modality: Fourteen tunes were in major and twelve were in minor. Raised sevenths occurred in seven tunes but, because of the lack of uniformity in designating harmonic and melodic forms of the scale among compilers, conclusions regarding modality are difficult to formulate. Triadic motives abounded in the tunes as did clearly implied tonic-dominant relationships. Key signatures were confined to three or fewer accidentals. Secondary dominants were often used, and an ambiguity between major and minor was some-

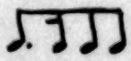
times present, as in Timothy Swan's CHINA. By no means should this ambiguity be considered a distinguishing feature of the music as is the case with the folk hymns to be treated in the following chapter.

Time Signatures: George Pullen Jackson and Murray Barbour have drawn attention to the improper use of certain time signatures by the New Light composers, and more specifically to incorrect barring, chiefly in the anthems and fuging tunes. The psalm tunes generally were in an acceptable metrical scheme. The symbol C was used fourteen times; ¢ six times; 3/2, five times; and 2/4 only once. Metrical changes occurred within the composition on only two occasions. Fourteen of the tunes began with an upbeat or partial measure.

Incipits and Cadences: The incipits of the twenty-six tunes were predominantly triadic. Typical openings were as follows:

Scale Degree	Number of Tunes
5-8	6
5-3	3
1-5	5
1-3	8
5-4	1
3-2	1
1-2-3	1
8-7	1

The approach to the final cadence was most often stepwise from above. The 2-1 cadence obtained in twenty tunes; 7-1 in four, and 2-7-1 in two tunes. All final cadences were masculine endings.

Rhythmic and Durational Features: The durational ranges of the notes were quite wide compared to the uniform values of the older psalm tunes and of the tunes belonging to the folk tradition. Fifteen examples were cast in note values ranging from to with generous use of dotted figures on single syllables, ,  , and . The tunes abounded in ornaments. The "hallelujah" motive, was often present as were the Tans'ur cliches and . The figure also occurred, usually on the first beat. Melismas were common near the end of the tunes. A typical example was Read's MONTICELLO:

2. Tunes from A Select Number of Plain Tunes

For the purpose of comparing the tunes of native-born American composers with an older body of melodies which were also employed for the new texts of Isaac Watts, an analysis of twenty-four tunes from Andrew Law's A Select Number of Plain Tunes has been prepared.[55] Most of the forty-three

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[55]A list of the tunes used in this analysis is given in Appendix IIIb.

tunes also appeared in Tans'ur's Royal Melody Complete, reprinted by Daniel Bayley in 1767 or in a subsequent edition in 1769 which was bound with Aaron Williams' Universal Psalmodist under the title The American Harmony.[56] Most of the tunes are European in origin.

The tunes in the Select Number differed little from those analyzed above, which supports the observations of Louis F. Benson and Irving Lowens regarding the influence of the English collections on American composers between 1760 and 1800.[57] An immediate impression of a basic difference between the two bodies of psalm tunes is the faster harmonic rhythm and the lack of repeated notes in the older tunes. Specific characteristics of the psalm tunes in Andrew Law's Select Number were:

Text Meter: Of the twenty-four tunes analyzed, twelve were in Common meter, three in Short meter, seven in Long meter, and two in Particular meter.

Form: All of the tunes were through-composed. Melodic sequence was employed in three of the tunes across the phrase. Seven of the twenty-four tunes employed a type of modal rhythm, particularly those in 3/2 meter. The

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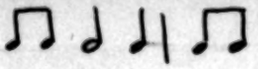
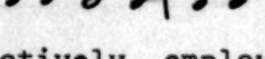
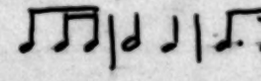
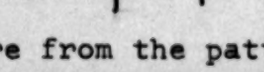
[56]William Tans'ur, Royal Melody Complete or New Harmony of Zion (London: 1755) and Aaron Williams, Universal Psalmodist (London: 1763). Both appear in Daniel Bayley, compiler, The American Harmony (Newburyport: 1769).

[57]Benson, op. cit., p. 169 and Lowens, op. cit., p. 246.

pattern was employed until the penultimate measure in which the final cadence was signaled with . The trait is present to such a degree that it may be termed a distinguishing characteristic of those tunes in triple meter in the category. There was evidence of the rhythmic scheme of the entire phrase in exact repetition in each succeeding phrase in three of the tunes studied. Two tunes, FUNERAL THOUGHTS and the 32ND PSALM TUNE with the figures  and  , respectively, employed these figures throughout the tune without variation, but in RICKMANSWORTH  became  in the third phrase, the only departure from the pattern.

Melodic sequences often suggested repetition of phrases but exact or similar phrases were rare. The melodic sequences were most often based on the primary triads.

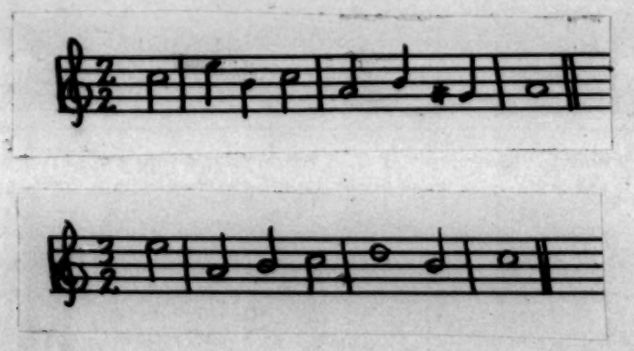
Melodic Range and Contour: The opening phrases of the twenty-four tunes were often found to be built on a descending or undulating contour; only four tunes were characterized by an ascending melody. This is a basic difference between Law's tunes and those of the native composers; they do not have the driving "sweep" of the later melodies. The melodic span of the tunes was narrow; six spanned the interval of a sixth; three, a seventh; seven, an octave; five, a ninth; one extended to an eleventh and one was confined to a fifth. Only five of the tunes were built on triadic motives; nineteen

were primarily diatonic. Melodic skips were small; the interval of a second predominated. Eleven tunes had no skips larger than a fourth. Nine tunes had intervals no larger than a fifth, usually across the phrase ending. Four tunes used a sixth, seventh, or octave as the widest melodic leap. In each of these tunes the interval itself was the motive around which the phrase was built. Sixteen of the tunes fell into the authentic mode; eight followed a plagal arrangement. This is one other significant difference related to tonality; plagal melodies often are the result of tonal pitch areas. The tunes lacked the harmonic drive associated with a clearly defined tonality.

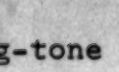
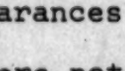
Modality: Fourteen of the tunes were major and ten were minor. There was no shifting to a relative key at any point in the tune, although in four tunes there was modal ambiguity between major and minor. Eleven of the tunes implied a definite shift to a dominant or subdominant key at a phrase ending by outlining a secondary dominant. Six minor tunes used the raised seventh degree in the melodic line. Key signatures were confined to three or fewer accidentals with the exception of BLENDON which appeared in E major.

Rhythm: Fourteen tunes were barred in 3/2 or 3/4 meter and ten in C or ¢. A metrical shift occurred only once in the twenty-four tunes, in WELLINGBOROUGH, a tune in Common Meter doubled. The shift from C to 3/2 occurred at the beginning of the second quatrain.

Incipits and Cadences: Incipits were primarily conjunct, not triadic as were the tunes of Billings and his contemporaries. Only one opening, 8-7-6-5, appeared with any degree of frequency (four tunes). A triadic 1-3-5 or 1-3 appeared in five tunes. Openings marking tonic-dominant relationships, 1-5 or 5-8 were present in only four tunes. All final cadences were masculine endings; only five of the tunes had a masculine beginning, three of which were full measures of only one note (and one syllable of text, which was poor prosody considering the meter of the text). Subsequent phrases in these tunes began with a feminine or upbeat rhythmic pattern. In nineteen tunes the final note of the cadence was approached from above by steps. In three of the tunes in which the final was approached from below the dominant triad members preceding it were in the form of a changing-tone pattern.



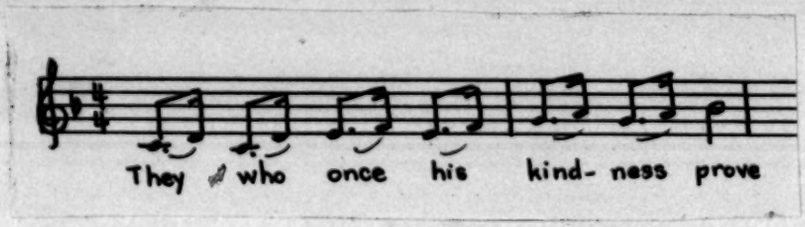
Rhythmic and Durational Features: The variation in durational symbols was narrow, the most common being the relationship . In meters marked 3/2 and 3/4 there

were several instances of a passing-tone figure  between larger values. There were few occurrences of the "hallelujah motive." Several appearances of the figure  on the first beat of the measure were noted but they did not occur to the degree observed in the tunes of native composers.

3. Tunes from The Harmonia Coelestis

Tunes from a third category of music influenced by the revivalism of the eighteenth century were analyzed to complete the study of the evangelical music of the New Light congregations. Jonathan Benjamin's Harmonia Coelestis may have been of little influence, but its unique association with the only American hymnal compiled in the century for use in revivals makes it worthy of consideration. During the course of this study it has been impossible to determine exactly which tunes were used in the initial excitement of 1740. In all probability, a variety of tunes from the English secular folk tradition, broadside ballads and tunes from ballad operas, and the standard melodies of Puritan psalmody were used at different times and among various classes caught up in the revival excitement. The tunes in Benjamin's collection belong to the era after the Revolutionary War and have greater relevance to the second period of American revivalism than for the Great Awakening.

The tunes are quite different from the two previous classifications.[58] The musical analysis brings to light definite qualities which make the tunes clear examples of late Baroque style. The first evidence is the extremely slow harmonic rhythm; seventeen tunes out of the twenty-five selected for analysis require harmonic change only every two or three beats; in some instances only once a measure. A second evidence of the influence of late Baroque writing is the technique of "spinning out" a characteristic melodic or rhythmic motive to form the melodic line. CHAPEL is typical:



A third characteristic, the profusion of ornaments in the form of trill, mordents, turns and appoggiaturas, clearly shows their relationship to prevailing Baroque vocal and instrumental styles. Specific characteristics were found to be:

Text Meters: Of the fifty-two tunes in Benjamin's

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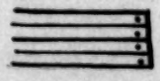
[58]A list of tunes used in this analysis can be found in Appendix IIIa.

collection, those in Common Meter are the most prevalent (twenty). There were fifteen in Long Meter, seven in Particular Meters, and three in Short Meter. Rarely used meters are also present: lines of 7's and 8's, 7's and 6's, 7's and 6.6.7.6. are found in seven tunes.[59]

Form: Through-composed tunes were most common among the twenty-five melodies analyzed (twenty-one). There were three examples of an ABAC arrangement and one of ABA'B. Rhythmic and melodic motives within the phrase were the means of extending the lines, most often in sequential treatment. Phrases were often repeated (eight tunes), designated by the traditional symbol  . Brief extensions of phrases (one or two measures) were written out while a symbol :‖ was placed at the end of the last word of text, indicating that several words were to be repeated. No extensions occurred within the phrase requiring an interruption by a repeated word. Codas were written for five tunes, some specifically marked "Sym." Others were unmarked, implying text repetition by the voices or instrumental performance. There were seven instances of "dialogue" between voices in which the tenor voice carrying the "air" dropped out while another carried the text and tune until answered by the tenor. This practice was present to some extent in the tunes of the American

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[59]The meters in Benjamin's collection are not sufficient for all the meters represented in Strong's Hartford Selection, as its compiler claimed.

composers, but not those of Law's Select Number. John Newton and William Cowper in the Olney Hymns had written a number in dialogue form.[60] The texts with which Benjamin's tunes appeared were not entirely on dialogue patterns, however.

Melodic Range and Contour: Twenty-four of the twenty-five tunes studied exceeded an octave in range. One extended to a seventh, only. The wide melodic range and a generally higher tessitura than that found in the other two bodies of song created a varied, more lively vocal line.[61] Melodies were primarily diatonic although triadic patterns are outlined. Melodic skips were generally wider; 6ths, 7ths, and octaves were found. Phrases generally were parabolic although turns, octave transpositions and neighboring tones often disguised their curve.

Melodic Modes: The authentic mode of the scale predominated (eighteen tunes); seven were plagal. The distinction between authentic and plagal forms of the scale in these tunes was moot: the increased range of each melody over the older tunes allowed changes from authentic to plagal registers to become one of the means of contrast between phrases. Twenty-four tunes employed a seven-tone scale; only one used

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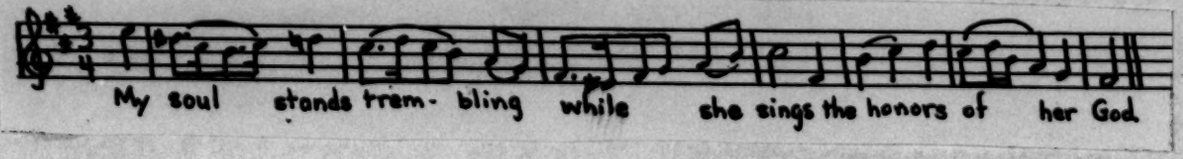
[60]John Newton, The Olney Hymns (London: W. Oliver, 1779). The compilers of The Hartford Selection drew freely from Newton and Cowper.

[61]Benjamin, in his rudiments section, said that treble (women's) voices should be used for the tenor or "air" because few men could sing beyond an octave with any degree of pleasantness.

a six-tone scale.

Modality: A primary difference between these and the tunes previously considered was in harmonic mode. Major mode was used most often (twenty-two tunes) and minor was employed in three. The variety of harmonic change was also a distinguishing characteristic of this category. Seventeen tunes showed clearly defined secondary dominants, not only at a phrase ending but at points which precipitated a clear modulation to a related key. Phrases in the relative major and minor of the key were common, as were modulation and harmonic sequence. Key signatures were confined to three or fewer accidentals except for SOMERSET in E major. Raised sevenths appeared in all the minor tunes and alteration for the purpose of modulation was common.

Rhythm and Meter: The metric units employed by the composers in the Harmonia Coelestis were smaller than those of the other two categories. There were only three tunes in 3/2 and nine in ¢. Six were marked C and six others were 3/4. One tune was barred in 2/4. Fewer tunes were in ternary meter (nine) than was the case with the twenty-four tunes taken from Law's Select Number. The rhythmic variety and vitality of the tunes were primary qualities which set them off from other categories. The following line from LAMBETH may be considered typical, not an exception.



In summary it may be said that the texts and tunes of the moderate evangelical churches revealed a compromise with the older psalmody which was in keeping with the social and theological reorientation within established religious institutions. The texts of Isaac Watts illustrate the theological evolution from strict Calvinism to evangelicalism. To a degree, they also reveal a society in the process of change from an aristocracy defined by a clerical system to a democratic church based on the rights of the individual. The tunes used reflect a growth from plainchant to the ornamented vocal lines of the late Baroque composers. The revivalism of 1740 was a continuing force reshaping religious activities according to the changing demands of eighteenth-century society in North America. The music influenced by revivalistic activities was an example in miniature of the larger process.

CHAPTER IV

THE MUSIC OF THE SEPARATIST TRADITION

It is relatively easy to delineate and document the growth of Watts' "system of praise" and its accompanying American art-music through church records of the moderate evangelicals and through tunebook publications in the period 1760 to 1813. It is much more difficult to describe the origin of a folk-hymn tradition among the Separatists and rural Baptists which appeared in an advanced state of development late in the century. Lowens said that:

> It is highly probable that folk-hymnody was an omnipresent phenomenon during the second half of the eighteenth century, although it is difficult to cite concrete evidence to that effect.[1]

This chapter is based on the premise that among rural Separatists and Baptists a vigorous musical activity with its origin in the revival fervor of 1740 did indeed exist in the period 1760-1800. This chapter is addressed to the establishment of that fact through bibliographical, biographical and analytical data. Underlying the presentation of the material are three observations generally accepted by scholars, or which will be established:

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[1]Irving Lowens, "Introduction" to a facsimile reprint of Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second (New York: DaCapo Press, 1964), p. v.

1. The appearance in 1805 in printed form of a well defined body of song from oral tradition which is related to, but distinct from, the musical styles of the New England composers of the late eighteenth century. Certain relationships between the two traditions imply a common influence--the secular folk music of the British Isles. The fact that one tradition, that of the New England composers, can be documented by printed evidence earlier than the other does not necessarily mean that the music of the oral tradition did not exist concurrently.

2. An incentive for the musical activity of the New England composers was the need for new music to accompany the texts of Isaac Watts, the chief musical expression of the moderate evangelicals. It is reasonable to assume that the more radical evangelicals, the Separatists, also had a musical expression growing out of the same revival fervor which had introduced Watts their counterparts. Both traditions were influenced by a common generative social force--revivalism--and share the same texts of Watts, Newton, Wesley, and the English Evangelicals. The moderate evangelicals increased their hymnody by adding texts from Davies, Barlow, and Dwight and the music of Billings, Read and the singing-school masters. It is reasonable to assume that accretions to the texts of the Separatists were accompanied by the introduction of new and the adaptation of old tunes.

3. The early New England style moved into the frontier areas as the singing-school tradition moved westward in the late eighteenth century. It was in the areas of Vermont and western New York and Pennsylvania that the first evidences of the folk tradition appeared in print. After 1813, the singing-school movement absorbed the folk hymn into its own publications, adding parts, amending melodic lines in keeping with its "rudiments," and institutionalizing the form in its own tradition. This implies a concatenation of cultural elements rather than a variation within a single tradition.

The studies of Irving Lowens generally support the first of the three observations--that there exists a link between the New England composers and the folk tradition:

> It is reasonable to assume that the highly characteristic style of composition practiced by Daniel Read, the Lewis Edsons, Jacob French, Oliver Brownson, Timothy Swan, Justin Morgan, and many others active in Connecticut and central Massachusetts during the 1780's and 1790's was based on the music they heard around them; the semi-folk idiom they cultivated was in all likelihood based on the music ingrained in their consciousness--Anglo-Celtic folk-music and its religious off-shoot, American folk hymnody.[2]

The research of George Pullen Jackson supports point two--that the folk tradition dates from the religious eruptions of the eighteenth century.[3] New bibliographical materi-

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[2]Ibid.

[3]George Pullen Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), p.9.

al will be presented in this chapter to support his theories.

Harry Eskew's studies of the life of William Walker and the movement southward of the New England style offer support to point three--that the folk tradition was assimilated by the singing-school movement.[4]

Before proceeding further, a definition of terms used in this chapter is in order. Lowen's definition of the folk hymn as a religious song set to a pre-existing secular melody is not sufficient for this study. In this work I have used the terms religious folk song and folk hymn to refer to the same body of song. In this class are all tunes associated primarily with religious texts that have at one time or another been preserved in oral tradition, as opposed to an authoritarian institution or a commercial interest. This definition does not exclude music of known authorship such as Swan's CHINA or Morgan's AMANDA, or tunes such as MEAR which have long been a part of church hymnody. The term folk hymn will be used for any tune employed in oral tradition primarily for religious texts. The tunes used by the Separatists who utilized no printed sources before 1805 are, by this definition, folk hymns or religious songs. This definition, built on usage rather than origin, lends itself more readily to the purpose of this study.

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[4]Harry Eskew, "Shape-note Hymnody in the Shenandoah Valley, 1816-1860," Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Tulane University, 1966.

In the classification "religious folk song," or "folk hymn," are three subclasses delineated by George Pullen Jackson which are applicable to this study.[5] First, the "hymn of praise" or exhortation is set apart by elements of text and music which suggest "social performance"; that is, performance by several individuals. Second is the religious ballad, in which text and music imply solo performance and in which the subject matter is the relating of a biblical story or a personal religious experience. A third classification, the revival spiritual, is similar to the hymn of exhortation but is set apart by patterns of repetition in text and music, improvisation, and by a functional role which such songs played in the camp-meeting revivals of the early nineteenth century. The camp-meeting spiritual lies outside the scope of this study.

This investigation has uncovered no printed sources of folk-hymn tunes before 1805. The Separate Baptists, among whom the first printed evidences of a folk tradition were found, had no "long-boy" music books before 1805 and, being dissenting bodies, they were denied many of the benefits of education and musical training of their Congregationalist neighbors. Around 1800, many were illiterate because of

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[5]The terms are introduced in Jackson, Spiritual Folksongs of Early America (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937). I have altered Jackson's definitions to some extent in this study.

social ostracism and the isolation of the frontier areas in which they lived.[6]

Early in their history, the Separate Baptists required that ministers used no written texts, relying instead on a "gift of the spirit" or inner impulse for their sermons. Song, as well as preaching and exhortation, was a "gift of the spirit" and it is probable that there was little sympathy for the sophisticated skills of singing by note.[7]

The most notable historian of the American Baptists in the eighteenth century was Isaac Backus (1724-1806), pastor of the Baptist church in Middleboro, Connecticut. Unfortunately, the articulate Backus did not describe the music of Baptists, concentrating instead on doctrinal controversies and historical events.[8] In these works and in various treatises there is no detailed description of a musical practice.

The Texts of the Separate Baptists

The only written evidences of a musical tradition among the Separate Baptists were a series of hymn collections

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[6]Many of the problems of Baptists in New England are discussed by Isaac Backus in A Church History of New England, Vol. II (Providence: John Carter, 1784).

[7]See Rueben Fletcher, The Lamentable State of New England, being an account of the Beginning, or Original of the Separates in New England, and their errors and faults (Boston: for the author, 1772). Fletcher, an independent, discussed the attitudes of Separatists towards learned sermons and education in general.

[8]Backus' histories appeared in three volumes under various titles in 1777, 1784, and 1796.

dating from 1766. Because of the autonomy of Baptist congregations, isolated churches published small volumes for their own use. The first of these was compiled by the church in Newport, R. I., one of the oldest congregations of Baptists in New England.[9]

The hymns in the Newport collection were taken from Isaac Watts, Joseph Stennett, and others, although no authors were listed. The texts show no evidence of the symbolism, improvisation, repetition and metrical inconsistency associated with the folk texts of the frontier collections of the early nineteenth century. The History of Isaac Backus suggests that worship services varied from one congregation to another. It is possible that the hymns of the Newport collection represent a less revivalistic practice than that found in rural congregations, although the church experienced a time of revival in 1741 during the tours of George Whitefield and Gilbert Tennent.[10]

The hymns of the Newport collection are equally divided between expressions of praise of God, hortatory songs of encouragement to fellow Christians, intense introspective poems in the style of the later religious ballad, and re-

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[9]Hymns and Spiritual Songs Collected from the Works of Several Authors (Newport: Samuel Hall, 1766). The copy which I examined in microprint is in the collection of the American Antiquarian Society.

[10]Isaac Backus, A Church History of New England, II, p. 134.

statements of events from the scriptures in paraphrase. One favorite biblical passage was that of the One Hundredth Psalm which appeared in ten settings. The texts were indicative of the revivalistic activity of the Separatists:

> Whene'er one Sinner turns to God
> With contrite heart and flowing eyes
> The happy news makes angels sing
> And tell their joys above the skies.
>
> Well may the church below rejoice
> And eccho back the heavenly sound;
> "This soul was dead, but now's alive;
> This sheep was lost but now is found."[11]

The origins of the texts seem to be European, although no single collection can be named as a primary source.

A collection of hymns prepared by George Whitefield and possibly the same hymns in another edition bearing the name of Martin Madan are listed in the Evans Bibliography as items 10209 and 10361, based on advertisements which appeared in 1765 and 1766. No copies of these editions are extant. A book of hymns published by the Baptists of Williamsburg bearing the same title as the Newport collection is listed by Evans but no copy of this entry (12660) can be found.[12]

An American collection which resembles that of the Newport Baptists was that of Samson Occam (1723-1792), a Mohican Indian who was a Whitefield convert in the revival of

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[11]Newport Collection, p. 14.

[12]Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Williamsburg: William Rind, 1773).

1740. Occam spent his adult years working among his people as a missionary and his collection had wide distribution throughout New England from 1774 to 1792.

Occam took his texts from many of the same authors as did the Baptists. His purpose was to impart alarm to the unconverted as well as to comfort the Christian. From the Preface:

> I have in the first Place chose out some awakening and most alarming Hymns, next to them penetential, then inviting, and then consolating [sic] Hymns. . . .

Occam also recognized the vigorous singing-school activity in New England but he emphasized the need frequently expressed by the evangelicals for a different form of musical expression. He wrote in the Preface:

> There are two Parts of Singing as St. Paul informs us in I Cor. 14:15 (I will sing with the Spirit, and I will sing with the Understanding also.) To sing without the spirit (though with good method) is like the sound of a musical Instrument without Life. . . .
>
> There is great Engagedness in the Colonies to cultivate Psalmody and I believe it to be the Duty of Christians to learn the Songs of Zion, according to good Method or Rule; but People ought not to be contented with the outward Form of Singing, but should seek after the inward Part.[13]

The collection contained a number of hymns by Charles Wesley in addition to those of Watts and the Evangelicals. Of the 108 items in Occam's work, two appeared in the Newport collection.

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[13]Samson Occom, A Choice Collection of Hymns (New London: Timothy Green, 1774). The copy which I examined is owned by the Massachusetts Historical Society.

Occam, whose name was spelled variously as Ockum, Occum, and, in his hymnal, Occom, was a Presbyterian who moved westward in 1786 to Oneida County, New York. This area, the site of so many camp-meeting revivals early in the nineteenth century, was called the "burned-over district" by later evangelists.

The next publication by Baptists was Elhanon Winchester's Thirteen Hymns Suited to the Present Times, a collection of patriotic texts apparently written by the author in the early part of the war with England.[14] Winchester was at one time the pastor of the Baptist church in Philadelphia, one of the most influential in the colonies. He was dismissed by the congregation because of his Universalist views regarding salvation, baptism and church membership. The texts are not evangelical but they are included in this survey because they represent the free hymnody which existed only among the evangelicals at this particular time in the development of religious music in America.

The collection contains the text which has to this time been attributed to William Billings and which is most often associated with the tune CHESTER. The first stanza appeared with the CHESTER tune in Billings' The New England Psalm Singer in 1770. Variations of the text appeared in

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[14]Elhanon Winchester, Thirteen Hymns Suited to the Present Times, containing the past, present, and future state of America (Baltimore: Mary K. Goddard, 1776).

later years. The following form appeared in Thirteen Hymns as Hymn V, "America's Encouragement":

Let tyrants shake their iron rod,
And slav'ry clank her galling chains;
We fear them not, we trust in God,
Our God alone forever reigns.

Though Britons join with Rome and Hell,
And seek our freedom to annoy;
Yet God who doth in Zion dwell,
Can all their boasted pow'r destroy.

What though their vessels fraught with fire
Come to distress our peaceful coasts;
The Lord can send his wrathful ire,
And smite their ships, and slay their hosts.

Let all their powers together join,
To fight and slay with sword in hand;
Supported by an arm divine,
In spite of all their rage we stand.

Seas, winds and storms, earth, stars and skies,
Directed by God's wisdom fight;
All join against his enemies,
Who dare to triumph in his fight.

Who dares the great Supreme oppose?
His weighty vengeance, who can tell?
His wrath will crush the stubborn foes,
His fury send them down to Hell.

Let not the mighty triumph then,
And rise in arms against our God;
He'll make them know they are but men,
If they provoke his dreadful rod.

Should God the dreadful judge appear,
Array'd in all his bright attire;
His foes would shrink, with pannic fear,
And at his awful frown expire.

We'll trust in him, whose power alone,
Can save us from the hurtful sword;
He'll send deliv'rance from his throne,
And we shall know he is our Lord.

In 1770, Morgan Edwards, a professor at Rhode Island College, published a prospectus of a history of the Baptists in America in which he described many of the activities of the Philadelphia congregation.[15] It was among this body that the first anonymous folk texts appeared, and certain practices of this church may be considered as early appearances of the outdoor religious service referred to as the "camp-meeting" revival. The baptismal service, because of the mode used by Baptists--immersion--was held in a stream or pond during the summer months. Edwards described a typical service outside Philadelphia on the Schuylkill river at a spot where Francis Hopkinson "led his bards and literati to sweep their lyres and meditate on justice and religion."[16] The hymn used during the service shows traits of construction and symbolism typical of the folk hymns which appeared in print in the early years of the nineteenth century. Unfortunately Edwards did not identify the "old tune" which was used, but suggested HELMSLEY, and inserted a refrain, a somewhat common practice among Baptists:

Jesus, Master, O discover
Pleasure in us, now we stand
On this bank of Schuylkill river,
To obey the great command.
[Pleasure in us,
Pleasure in us,
Pleasure in us,
Who obey thy great command.]

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[15]Morgan Edwards, Materials Toward a History of the American Baptists (Philadelphia: Joseph Crukchank and Isaac Collins, 1770).

[16]Ibid., p. 132.

Make this stream like Jordan blessed
Leprous Naamans enter in.
Rise, saith Jesus, be baptized,
And you wash away your sin.
[Be baptized,
Be baptized,
Be baptized,
And you wash away your sin.]

Here the world and flesh and devil
We do solemnly renounce;
Here we vow to cease from evil
And a life to God announce.
[Cease from evil,
Cease from evil,
Cease from evil,
And a life to God announce.]

Of our vows this stone's a token,
Stone of witness, bear record
Gainst us, if our vows be broken
Or if we forsake the Lord.
[Solemn warning,
Solemn warning,
Solemn warning,
Stone of witness, bear record.]

Help us thou baptized Jesus
What we vowed to fulfill;
Of our fears of failing ease us,
Form and mold us to thy will.
[Help us Jesus,
Help us Jesus,
Help us Jesus,
What we vowed to fulfill.]

Hence we go our way rejoicing,
Conscious of our pleasing God,
Foll'wing Jesus still proposing
In the paths his feet have trod.
[Go rejoicing,
Go rejoicing,
Go rejoicing,
Conscious of our pleasing God.] [17]

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[17] Ibid., p. 131.

The Baptist Church in Philadelphia ousted Elhanon Winchester as pastor and the congregation divided into Calvinistic and Universalist sides.[18] The Universalists under Winchester published two collections, A Choice Collection of Hymns, in which are some never before printed, in 1782, and A Choice Collection of Hymns, from various authors, adapted to Public Worship in 1784.[19] Louis Benson's copy of the 1784 collection states that it was used by the Dunkers or German Baptist Brethren at Germantown, Pennsylvania.

In the 1784 Philadelphia Collection, Watts and the early evangelicals were represented, but many of the texts present evidence of native American authorship, possibly by Winchester himself.

He brought our fathers o'er
The vast Atlantic Sea,
To this delightful shore,
The land of Liberty.
For God hath made his goodness known
And called Columbia his own.

He drove the heathen out
Before his people's face,
Put savage bands to rout
And gave to us their place.
For God hath made his judgment known
And called the new-found land his own.

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[18]The controversy was discussed in An Address from the Baptist Church in Philadelphia to their Sister Churches of the Same Denomination throughout the Confederated States of North America (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1781).

[19]The 1782 Collection in Evans (17491) is a copy from the library of Louis Benson. The 1784 edition was printed by Enoch Story. Benson is the source of the association of Winchester with these anonymous works. See his English Hymn, p. 199.

There are copious evidences of non-literary, non-ecclesiastical origins of these texts. The symbolism employed is close to that of the folk hymns of the Separate Baptist congregations in New England. "Rumbling thunders," "forky lightnings," and "cliffy rocks" add to the frequently vivid descriptions found in the works.

Only three of the texts in the 1784 volume are found in Occam's hymnal and two are contained in the Newport volume of 1766.[20] Another Universalist collection appeared among Baptists in Vermont, Silas Ballou's New Hymns on Various Subjects.[21] The collections of Winchester and Ballou, while containing many texts from Watts and the Evangelicals, do not truly represent the Calvinistic Separatists.

The Baptists of the Calvinistic faction in Philadelphia published their own collection in 1790.[22] Edited by Samuel Jones and Burgis Allison, the collection brought to Baptists the texts of the English Selection by John Rippon. There were new editions in 1801 and 1814, and the collection apparently had wide circulation outside Pennsylvania communities.

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[20]The copy of the Philadelphia collection which I examined was that owned by the Universalist Historical Society. It is an imperfect copy.

[21]Silas Ballou, New Hymns on Various Subjects (Worcester: n.p., 1785).

[22]Samuel Jones and Burgis Allison, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns (Philadelphia: R. Aitken, 1790). A list of first lines of these texts is given in Appendix VI.

Jones stated in the Preface that the psalms were taken from the Imitations of Isaac Watts and the hymns from Rippon's Selection and an unidentified collection published in London in 1774. Louis Benson states without elaboration that the work referred to was Richard Conyer's Collection of 1767.[23] There were also a number of texts identified simply as being from the "Newport Collection."

Jones divided his collection into topical sections for use by congregations. A large section was marked for "Private Use" (pages 260-342) and contained hymns that were more free in their construction than the traditional texts:

> O Jesus our Lord,
> Thy name be Adored
> For all the rich blessings conveyed by thy Word
>
> O Come let us join,
> Together combine
> To praise our dear Savior, our Master Divine.

The Calvinistic evangelicals were the most numerous authors represented in this section. Jones remarked in the Preface that the hymns in the "Private Use" section could be sung in congregational worship if the people knew tunes sufficient for their irregular meters.

The German Baptists in Pennsylvania published their first English collection in 1791, The Christian's Duty.[24]

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[23]Benson, op. cit., p. 362.

[24]The Christian's Duty exhibited, in a Series of Hymns: Collected from various authors, designed for the worship of God, and for the edification of Christians, recommended by the serious of all denominations. By the Fraternity of Baptists (Germantown: Peter Leibert, 1791). American Antiquarian Society Copy.

A second edition appeared in 1801 and a third in 1813. The texts were taken from Watts and the English Evangelicals, and, according to Louis Benson, from the Philadelphia Choice Collection compiled by Elhanon Winchester.[25] There were a number of hymns of intense personal expression:

O that I had a Bosom friend
To tell my secrets to
On whose advice I might depend
In every thing I do.

Watts' text from the Horae Lyricae was included:

O tis a thought would melt a rock
And make an heart of Iron move
That those sweet lips, that heavenly look
Should seek and wish a mortal's love.

Rippon's variation of Toplady's "Rock of Ages, Shelter Me" was also included. This was the first American publication to include this text which later became one of the most popular among rural congregations.

There were also examples of the 5-5-11 meter which is closely related to the later camp-meeting spiritual in brevity and symbolism. Here is an appearance of the "promised land" or "pilgrimage" theme:

O tell me no more
Of this world's vain store
The time for such trifles with me now is o'er.

A country I've found
Where true joys abound
To dwell I'm determined on that happy ground.

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[25]Benson, op. cit., p. 367.

One text closely resembled that of the spiritual in its repetition:

> Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory,
> Glory be to God on high:
> Glory, Glory, Glory, Glory,
> Sing his praises round the sky.
>
> Worthy, Worthy, Worthy, Worthy,
> Worthy is the Lamb of God;
> Worthy, Worthy, Worthy, Worthy,
> Who loved and washed us in his blood.

The Germantown hymnal was the last significant source of texts from Baptists in Pennsylvania. In New England, and specifically in the New Hampshire and Vermont communities having a large percentage of Baptists, several important collections appeared. The work which showed the strongest evidence of oral or folk tradition was Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs. The early editions of the work are not extant, but Louis Benson suggests the year 1784 for the first edition, the notation in a bookseller's catalogue serving as his only documentation.[26]

The Divine Hymns of Joshua Smith, a Baptist layman, gives indication of improvised alterations and additions. Hymn-writing was prevalent among Separate Baptists in New

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[26]Benson, op. cit., p. 202. Various editions circulated bearing Smith's name and containing the basic texts of his early editions, but with the notation that the selection was enlarged "by 20 hymns" or by various other means. The bibliographical problems alone offer a suitable area for a dissertation. It is outside the scope of this study to pursue the problem. The collection which I used was that edited by William Northrup, chiefly the edition published in Norwich in 1798 (Evans, 36319).

England. Evans listed two entries of hymns composed by Benjamin Cleaveland in 1786 and 1788.[27] He also recorded a 1791 collection, Hymns and Divine Songs, by Thomas Nichols which was "inspected and approved by Isaac Backus of Middleborough."[28] In 1792, Benjamin Cleaveland's work appeared bound with texts by Anna Beeman, Amos Wells, and "different authors" who were not identified. This work was listed as the fourth edition of Cleaveland's hymnal. Anna Beeman's texts were published separately in the same year.[29] Only a few of the original compositions of the three authors were widely used, but their significance lies in the fact that they illustrate the type of hymn-writing activity prevalent among Baptists. Anna Beeman's texts were somewhat rough:

> Behold this Sodom here below
> I leave it all to you;
> Hinder me not for I must Go,
> My Jesus to pursue.

Others could be described as sensual:

> If I'm a Saint I long to rest
> Dear Jesus on thy holy breast;
> Yes, lay enfolded in thy arms
> To view thy beauty and thy charms

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[27]The entries, 19562 and 21002, cannot be located for study.

[28]This work (Evans 23632) was published in Providence by Burnett Wheeler. I have been unable to locate a copy. From the title alone it is difficult to tell whether the texts were compiled or composed by Nichols. Note the similarity between this hymnal and that of Joshua Smith.

[29]Benjamin Cleaveland, Anna Beeman and Amos Wells, Hymns on Different Spiritual Subjects: for Baptists (Norwich: John Trumbell, 1792).

The texts of Amos Wells often were reflections on contemporary events such as his hymn "Upon Leaving a Church." The course of a dispute between pastor and people was described and Wells used the text to tell his side of the story:

> Their jealousies did so prevail
> My words were not believed
> What I declared would be denied
> At this my heart was grieved.[30]

Anna Beeman attributed this memorial to Isaac Watts to Amos Wells:

> Mourn, mourn Brittania mourn;
> Lament that solemn day
> That rob'd thee of thy Bard
> And took thy WATTS away.
>
> Let all admire his theme
> A WATTS can't be despised
> But shall forever live
> And be immortalized.[31]

Benjamin Cleaveland was listed as the author of a text which circulated widely in the frontier areas:

> When pity prompts me look around
> Upon my fellow clay;
> See men reject the gospel song
> Good God, what shall I say?

There were numerous hymns on Baptism and the distinguishing practices of Baptists.

The hymns of Cleaveland and Beeman were introduced in populous areas and may be considered as representative of the Baptists in Norwich and Warren, the home of Anna Beeman.

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[30] Ibid., p. 92.

[31] Ibid., p. 76.

From the frontier communities there was one example of what may have been common practice among rural Baptists: in 1795, in Windsor, Vermont, there was a reprint of an edition of hymns written by Lucy Allen.[32] From the Preface to the work:

> The author, being illiterate, or her education such that she is incapable of writing, or even of reading writing, and professes not to be endowed with any natural poetic genius; but, being a professor of religion, of the Baptismal order, she was frequently, and almost constantly, meditating on divine and eternal things; and having certain impressions made on her mind, by accidents, and other occurrences, taking place during her Christian travel, from the year of our Lord, 1784-88.

The symbolism and phraseology of Lucy Allen were influenced by John Newton, William Cowper and the early evangelicals:

> Young children, now to you I cry
> That Christ will come and take
> You from your dreadful enemy
> And from the burning lake.
>
> There is a fountain rich and free
> Where living waters run;
> All that believe, may taste and see
> The glories of the Son.[33]

In 1794, one year before Allen's book was printed, a volume of hymns appeared composed by Reverend Pelatiah Chapin, Evangelical Poetry, for the Purpose of Devotion, Excited by

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[32]Lucy Allen, Hymns on Various Subjects (Windsor: Alden Spooner, 1795).

[33]The "burning lake" is found in Newton's "Poor Sinner, stop and think" and Cowper's hymn beginning "There is a fountain filled with blood" became widely known on the frontier in the last decade of the eighteenth century.

Spiritual Songs: and conviction urged by Gospel Truth.[34] The denominational affiliation of Chapin is not known, but there is little doubt about the Calvinism of his texts. Chapin's hymnal is important because the settings were predominantly paraphrases of scriptural events with an application for the contemporary Christian. They combined the homilectical function of the "hymn after sermon" with the ballad and may be considered early examples of the "religious ballad" defined by George Pullen Jackson. One entire section of Chapin's book was devoted to the Song of Solomon, and the "Bride of Christ" theme was extensively developed:

> I to the garden did retire
> Where heav'nly graces grow,
> To see what growing vines appear,
> Which buds and blossoms show.
>
> Before I was aware, he made
> My soul like chariots move,
> With heav'nly rapture was I fired
> As willing souls do love.[35]

Another text on a favorite subject of the camp-meeting spirituals appeared:

> Jacob, a ladder did behold,
> Extend from earth to Heaven;
> The myst'ry which it doth unfold
> Is Christ a God-man given.
>
> Christ is the only way to reach
> Celestial joy above;
> No other way his servants preach
> To taste the Father's love.[36]

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[34]Pelatiah Chapin, Evangelical Poetry (Concord: G. Hough, 1794).

[35]Ibid., p. 37.

[36]Ibid., p. 74.

A significant volume was published in the same year, compiled by John Peak (1761-1842) titled A New Collection of Hymns and identified as the third Windsor edition.[37] The small hymnal was apparently an extract from Smith's Divine Hymns. There were twenty-eight hymns in the volume, nineteen of which also appeared in the 1798 edition of Smith's work. In Peak's hymnal was the text "Jesus, grant us all a blessing" which became a favorite of the camp-meeting participants in 1800.[38]

There is little doubt that the texts were of native origin. This one titled "A Youth in the Ministry" described the Separatist "call to preach" which periodically led new converts into the itinerant ministry without benefit of education, ordination, or preparation:

> I hear the gospel's joyful sound
> An organ I shall be
> To sound aloud redeeming love
> And sinner's misery.
>
> Tho'through the wilderness I'll run
> Preaching the gospel free
> O be not anxious for your son,
> The Lord will comfort me.[39]

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[37]John Peak, A New Collection of Hymns. . .and Spiritual Songs. . .some entirely new. Third Windsor edition (Windsor: Alden Spooner, 1793).

[38]This text does not appear in any of the editions of Smith which I have been able to investigate. I can find no other American publication containing it before the camp-meeting songsters of 1800.

[39]John Peak, op. cit., p. 11.

Personal events were also represented in ballad form. This is the "Widow's Hymn."

> My head and stay is took away,
> And I am left alone;
> My husband dear, which was so near
> Is took away and gone.[40]

It should be noted that the hymnal of John Peak was quite different from those of the Newport and Philadelphia congregations published in 1766 and 1784 in its literary content and its predominance of texts of personal experience. It was representative of the Separatist Baptists rather than those Baptists whose congregations dated back before the revivals of 1740. There was only one text--"Savior, I do feel thy merit"--in Peak which also appeared in the Philadelphia Choice Collection. There were no texts shared with the Newport volume.

The various editions of Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs are the primary sources for the texts of the folk hymns of the eighteenth century. There were two families of these editions, those printed in Connecticut and those which appeared in Vermont and New Hampshire. The early editions in the frontier areas were assumed by Charles Evans from advertisements in various periodicals. Copies of these early works have not been located or examined.

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[40] Ibid., p. 15.

Two Connecticut editions were selected for a detailed examination, and these works form the basis of the following description.[41] The texts in the Divine Hymns were taken from the following sources: (1) Isaac Watts' Imitations and Hymns, (2) the English Evangelicals represented in George Whitefield's Hymns, John Newton's Olney Hymns, and Rippon's Selection, (3) American sources, some of which can be defined, although most of the authors are anonymous. In this category are at least two texts which also existed in England prior to and concurrent with their cisatlantic usage, "Jerusalem, my happy home" and "Christ, the appletree."

In keeping with the stated definition of a folk hymn as a melody which was preserved in oral tradition, regardless of origin, the texts associated with these tunes will now be considered a part of the folk hymn tradition. Although some texts may be traced to a source, their manipulation and emendation in an oral tradition make them as much a part of the folk music of the rural evangelicals as the melodies. There was definite evidence of changes in the texts at the hands of the Separatists in New England. For example, in Smith's Divine Hymns the text beginning "Dress Uniform Christ's Soldiers are" appeared in some editions as "Dress't uniform."

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[41]Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs, Second Norwich edition (Norwich: Thomas Hubbard, 1794) and Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs, edited by William Northrup (Norwich: Sterry, 1799). Both copies are owned by the American Antiquarian Society.

In Peak's New Collection the text appears "Dress't uniform Christ's soldiers wear."

Other changes in Smith's hymnal appear to be based on aural perception; the line "The worth of truth no tongue can tell" became in other editions "The word of truth." The text "O now begin some heavenly theme" appeared in some editions as "thy heavenly theme." "Jesus, I flee to thee" appeared as "Jesus, I fly to thee" on occasion. Another hymn beginning "Jesus, I thirst and go I must" became "Jesus, I trust and go I must."

This procedure was not peculiar to Separatists. Compilers exercised certain license for doctrinal or aesthetic reasons but Smith was a layman and his Hymns was a commercial enterprise, as far as can be determined. It is probable that emendations were made to accommodate the work to existing usage, not to doctrinal or aesthetic preconceptions.

There were no refrains attached to the texts in Smith's Divine Hymns except as they were incorporated into the text. The best example of such a text was "Savior, I do feel thy merit" with its

> Glory, glory, glory glory,
> Glory be to God on high.
> Glory, glory, glory, glory
> Sing his praises to the sky.[42]

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[42]This text appeared in the Norwich edition printed by Thomas Hubbard, . p. 7.

This refrain appeared in another form in The Christian's Duty of the Germantown Baptists. The hymn to which it is attached in Smith's volume is also in the Philadelphia Choice Collection.

The vivid imagery of the anonymous works is exemplified in the text "Christ, the appletree":

> The Tree of Life my soul hath seen,
> Laden with fruit and always green:
> The trees of nature fruitless be
> Compar'd with Christ, the Appletree.
>
> For happiness I long have sought
> And pleasure deeply have I bought,
> I miss'd of all; but now I see
> Tis found in Christ the Appletree.
>
> I'll sit and eat this fruit divine,
> It cheers my heart like spirit'al wine
> And now this fruit is sweet to me,
> That grows on Christ the Appletree.[43]

The text of a hymn for children expressed the old Calvinist doctrine of election, but, typical of the conflict between this predestination and the Arminian melioration which underlies the evangelical impulse, the implication was that each individual may determine his spiritual destiny:

> My children dear you now appear
> Like blossoms on the trees.
> But you may blast and die at last
> And wither by degrees.

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[43] Ibid., p. 4.

You know that five out of ten
Of virgins did prove fools;
Why may not you be found so too
If you take up their rules.

I know full well no tongue can tell
The number Christ will free,
But there's but few to what that crew
Of damned souls will be.[44]

Other texts expressed the Calvinistic fatalism of the Separate Baptists:

The man that views his guilt and sin
With clear enlightened eyes,
He sees how vile a wretch he's been
And how in dust he lies.

With humble, low submission 'tis
His soul is brought to say
That God the sovereign potter is,
And he but worthless clay.[45]

The Baptists were convinced of the eventual success of the revival which had given them an identity. Here is a text from Smith proclaiming their eventual triumph:

Hark how the gospel trumpet sounds,
Through all the world the echo bounds;
And Jesus Christ's redeeming blood
Is bringing sinners home to God,
And guides them safely by his word
To endless day.[46]

The Separate Baptists who used Smith's hymnal retained their belief that an individual could know of his "election" to salvation, a point of controversy with the early anti-

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[44]Ibid., pp. 64-65.

[45]This text is from the Northrup edition published by J. Sterry in 1797, p. 56.

[46]The text is taken from Northrup's ninth edition published by Sterry in 1799.

revivalists. The Divine Hymns offered numerous texts expressing this "assurance." One by John Newton appeared frequently in the various editions:

> Begone unbelief, my Savior is near,
> And for my relief will surely appear.
> By prayer let me wrestle, and he will perform;
> With Christ as the Vessel, I'll smile at the storm.[47]

The Calvinistic preoccupation with death which was evident in Newton's Olney Hymns runs through many of the texts, regardless of their topic. Some dwell entirely on death. Here are some typical first lines:

> Hark, my gay friends, the monster death[48]
>
> Death, tis a melancholy day,[49]
>
> All flesh is grass, the prophet cried[50]
>
> Time, like an overflowing stream[51]

Closely associated with death was the theme of release from the captivity of an earthly existance or an arrival in the promised land:

> Lord when shall we mount up to thee
> Upon the wings of grace,
> And see thy bright, and lilly white
> And ruddy, rosy face. [sic][52]

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[47] Ibid., p. 155.

[48] Ibid., p. 188.

[49] Ibid., p. 177.

[50] Ibid., p. 181.

[51] Ibid., p. 131. The text appears at times "Death, like an overflowing stream."

[52] The text is taken from Hubbard's edition of 1794.

Come and taste along with me
Consolation running free,
From my father's wealthy throne,
Sweeter than the honeycomb.[53]

Children of the Heav'nly King,
As you journey, sweetly sing;
Sing your Savior's worthy praise,
Glorious in his works and ways.[54]

There was also an enthusiasm for the "promised land" as seen in these first lines:

Happy pilgrims, whence came ye?[55]

Jerusalem, my happy home[56]

O, for a glance of heav'nly day![57]

There were texts in Smith's work which represented the conversion experience as defined by the revivalists of 1740. It was the duty of the converted to bring sinners to the first stage of conversion; consequently, there was formed a number of songs intended to frighten the unconverted. Others were cast in a pleading tone. Here are some typical lines:

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[53]From the Northrup ninth edition of 1799 came this and other texts written by John Leland, a Baptist minister from Virginia. See page 179 of the Northrup edition for the text in full.

[54]Ibid., p. 60.

[55]Ibid., p. 100.

[56]Ibid., p. 17.

[57]Ibid., p. 132.

Come, sinners, now approach your God[58]

Come ye sinners, poor and wretched[59]

Come, fellow sinners, now awake[60]

Come now, poor sinners, share apart[61]

The first stage of the conversion experience, that of conviction of sin and fear of damnation, was often represented in hymns in which the first person was used:

Lord, whither shall I flee?[62]

And are we wretches yet alive?[63]

O, that my load of sin were gone[64]

After the despair of the initial stage of the experience, the convert, recognizing his damnation placed himself on the mercy of God for salvation and for release from the fears which he experienced:

Jesus, thy gospel I embrace[65]

Lord, hear a burdened sinner[66]

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[58]Ibid., p. 69.

[59]Ibid., p. 44.

[60]Ibid., p. 196.

[61]Hubbard's Norwich edition of 1794, p. 30.

[62]Northrup's ninth edition, p. 179.

[63]Ibid., p. 181.

[64]Ibid., p. 29.

[65]Ibid., p. 173.

[66]Ibid., p. 204.

Jesus, thy blessings are not few,
Nor is thy gospel weak,
Thy grace can melt the stubborn Jew,
And heal the dying Greek.
Wide as the reach of Satan's rage
Does thy salvation flow.
It's not confin'd to sex or age,
The lofty or the low.[67]

The final stage of conversion was the release of tension and fears and a joyful relating of the event before the group of Christians. Such hymns began:

Blessed be my God that I was born[68]

My soul doth magnify the Lord.[69]

My song shall bless the Lord of all.[70]

There is musical evidence that the tunes used to accompany the words of Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns were as rough and lively as their texts. Perhaps this is what the compiler had in mind in 1800 when he included the following text:

Enlisted in the cause of sin,
Why should a good be evil?
Music, alas, too long has been
Press'd to obey the devil.

Drunken or lewd or light the lay,
Flows to their souls' undoing,
Widen'd and strewn with flow'rs the way,
Down to eternal ruin.

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[67]Ibid., p. 59

[68]Ibid., p. 21

[69]Ibid., p. 103. This is the hymn written by James Davenport, the leader of the Separates in 1742.

[70]Ibid., p. 170.

Who on the part of God will rise,
Innocent sounds recover?
Fly on the prey and seize the prize,
Plunder the carnal lover?

Strip him of ev'ry moving strain,
Of ev'ry melting measure?
Music in virtue's cause retain,
Risk the holy pleasure?[71]

In addition to Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns there were other hymnals which contained many texts associated with the rural Baptists. They appeared to have been patterned after Smith's collection and contain chiefly texts from the English Evangelicals and Rippon's Selection. The most important of these was Josiah Goddard's Hymns which appeared in 1798 and again in 1801.[72] He continued the tradition established by Smith and others of freely mixing native texts with those of Watts, Wesley, Newton and other Europeans. There was also a predominance of texts of personal experiences and a large number of texts patterned after those of the paraphrases based on the Song of Solomon:

Arise my dear love, my undefiled dove
I hear my dear Jesus say.
The winter is past, the spring comes at last;
My dove, my love, come away.

All smiling in love, the young turtle dove
The flowers appearing in May.
All speak forth the praise of the ancient of days;
My love, my dove, come away.[73]

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[71]Northrup, tenth ed. (Evans 38521), p. 118.

[72]Josiah Goddard, A Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs (Conway, N.H.: 1798 and 1801). A list of first lines from Goddard's book is given in Appendix VII.

[73]Ibid., p. 53.

Texts built on a personal relationship between Christ and the individual were popular, with many using the symbolism of physical love:

> Let Christ the glorious lover
> Have everlasting praise;
> He comes for to discover
> The riches of his grace.
>
> He courts a wretched sinner
> To be his loving Bride,
> Resolving for to win her
> And will not be denied.[74]
>
> How happy are they
> Who the Savior obey,
> And have laid up their treasure above.
> Tongues cannot express
> The sweet comfort and rest
> Of a soul in its earliest love.[75]

Despite the flourishing activity of native compilers of the last two decades of the eighteenth century, English hymnals were extensively reprinted in America. New texts from the English evangelical ministers were introduced through imported collections which were frequently advertised by booksellers. There were three families of books from England which received wide recognition among the Separatist-oriented congregations, as evidenced by their inclusion in native compilations. They are:

1. The Watts-Whitefield texts, represented in the Watts editions of Psalms and Hymns, and Whitefield's Hymns

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[74] Ibid., p. 92.

[75] Ibid., p. 239.

for Social Worship.[76] Whitefield's hymns were applicable for congregations and generally avoided any texts of personal experience, physical rapture, or excess enthusiasm. There was an emphasis on salvation and the role of Christ in the conversion experience, but the texts were moderately conservative as evangelical poetry.[77] The history of the Hymns in America is difficult to determine. In 1765 there appeared an advertisement in a periodical of a reprint from the press of William Bradford, and a similar advertisement in 1766 listed Martin Madan and George Whitefield as compilers of a new hymnal.[78] In 1768 the collection was reprinted in New York and Boston.[79] Both these editions were designated "thirteenth edition" according to Louis Benson. This was probably the thirteenth London edition. The twelfth edition had appeared in London in 1764.[80]

The work apparently had wide circulation in America because Simeon Jocelyn in his Chorister's Companion

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[76]George Whitefield, Hymns for Social Worship (London: William Strahan, 1753).

[77]Louis Benson discussed Whitefield's ideas of singing in his The English Hymn, pp. 315-316, 339.

[78]Evans lists these items, 10209 and 10361. They may have been the same work. No copies have been located.

[79]George Whitefield, Hymns for Social Worship (New York: James Parker, 1768) and George Whitefield, Hymns for Social Worship (Boston: John Mein, 1768). I have been unable to locate either edition.

[80]Benson, op. cit., p. 359.

of 1783 gave texts from "Mr. G. W. " for many of his tunes.[81] There is little doubt that Whitefield's collection was the one referred to, along with Watts' Hymns and James Relly's Christian Hymns.[82]

2. The Olney Hymns of John Newton and William Cowper.[83] The first American edition appeared in New York in 1787 and numerous American editions followed down to 1805.[84] Most American editions were bound with Newton's Letters and Sermons and in all probability saw private use only. The Olney Hymns were much more introspective than Whitefield's collection and at times they equaled Watts' Horae Lyricae in intensity of personal expression. It is this collection which furnished the patterns for the religious ballads of the Separatist tradition. The frequency of the recurrence of characteristic phrases and symbols in Smith's collection is indicative of the influence of the Olney Hymns on the Baptists.

3. The texts of Rippon's Selection and the Wesleyan hymns.[85] Rippon's Selection was first printed in America

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[81]Simeon Jocelyn, The Chorister's Companion (New Haven: T. and S. Green, 1783).

[82]James and John Relly, Christian Hymns, Poems and Spiritual Songs (Portsmouth: n.p., 1782).

[83]John Newtoh, The Olney Hymns in Three Books (London: W. Oliver, 1779). American reprints are listed in Appendix I.

[84]Evans lists a New York publication of The Olney Hymns in 1787, number 20588.

[85]John Rippon, A Selection of Hymns (London: T. Wilkins, 1787).

in 1792 in New York, and new editions appeared frequently down to 1880.[86] The texts were primarily from the English evangelicals and were selected to meet the doctrinal requirements of the Baptists. The Wesley texts which were used in the United States before 1800 were introduced by means of Whitefield's and Rippon's collections. George Pullen Jackson, by using the term "Wesleyan Revival" to include both the Calvinistic Evangelicals and the Arminian Wesleyan camps, has left a mistaken impression of the role of the Wesleys in the revivalistic activity of 1740-1800.[87] John Wesley's Hymns was published in Charlestown in 1737, but there is little evidence of any wide usage.[88] The basic theological differences between George Whitefield and John Wesley which divided the revivalistic forces precluded any widespread acceptance in America of any but strict Calvinistic texts. This apparently was the reason for the lack of interest in Wesleyan hymns except as they were incorporated into evangelical publications such as Whitefield's Hymns or Rippon's Selection. There was also evidence that John Wesley's attitude toward the colonists during the War with England was detrimental to the accept-

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[86]John Rippon, A Selection of Hymns (first American edition, New York: William Durell, 1792).

[87]George Pullen Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), p. 6.

[88]John Wesley, A Collection of Hymns (Charlestown [Charleston, S. C.]: 1737).

ance of his publications in America. Wesley was also concerned about the quality of the hymns used by revival participants. Despite his early use of hymn-singing as a means to bring the unconverted to hear the gospel, his interest in quality verse and controlled singing outweighed his desire for a popular hymnody. He wrote:

> In these Hymns there is no doggerel, no botches, nothing put in to patch up the rhyme, no feeble expletives. There is nothing turgid or bombast on the one hand, or low and creeping on the other.[89]

The collections of the Methodists began to be popular only after 1781, and especially with the appearance of The Pocket Hymn Book by Robert Spence, which was a compilation from earlier Methodist publications.[90] The work was dismissed as "grievous doggerel" by Wesley, but became the most popular Methodist hymnal in America after its initial appearance in 1788.[91] Wesley tried unsuccessfully to control the singing of his congregations in America, emphasizing liturgical and literary values in his selections.[92]

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[89]From the Preface to A Collection of Hymns for the Use of the People called Methodists (London: J. Paramore, 1780).

[90]Robert Spence, A Pocket Hymn Book, designed as a constant Companion for the Pious: Collected from Various Authors (London: 1781).

[91]A Pocket Hymn Book (ninth edition, Philadelphia: Joseph James, 1788). Benson speaks of a 1786 edition which I have been unable to locate.

[92]The controversy is discussed in Benson, op. cit., p. 280.

> The certain thing is that the bishops made up their minds during Wesley's life that the book of Spence which Wesley disliked so much was better adapted to American conditions than any of his own, and took steps to furnish the congregations with an ample supply. . . . The Pocket Hymn Book, and not the Psalms and Hymns of 1784, or even the famous Collection of 1780, is the nucleus of the Hymnody of American Methodism.[93]

It is reasonable to assume in light of the above events that Wesleyan texts were of little importance in the development of Separatist hymnody until the end of the century. Those texts which were accepted into the tradition such as Charles Wesley's "Ah, Lovely Appearance of Death" were incorrectly attributed to others, including Whitefield himself.[94] There were twenty-seven texts in Rippon's eighteenth edition from the Wesleyan collections, many incorrectly attributed in what one hymnologist interpreted as an attempt to use the Methodist texts without arousing Calvinistic prejudices.[95]

The Tunes of the Separatist Baptists

The tunes used by the Separatist Baptists in frontier congregations differed in many ways from both the early psalm tunes and those of the New England composers, although

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[93]Benson, op. cit., pp. 288-89.

[94]See William Billings, The New England Psalm-Singer (Boston: Edes and Gill, 1770).

[95]See W. P. Burgess, Wesleyan Hymnology (second edition, London: 1849). I have not been able to find a copy of this work mentioned by Benson, p. 259, for examination. On page 246 Benson mentions the work as appearing in 1846.

both traditions are represented in the rural collections. Their chief characteristic is a similarity to the folk tunes of secular tradition. In Spiritual Folk Songs of Early America, Another Sheaf of White Spirituals and Down East Spirituals, George Pullen Jackson discussed 550 melodies and showed organic relationships to six "tune families" of secular English folk music. Musical "borrowing" has accompanied many popular religious movements in Christian history and there is little evidence with which to refute his theory.

Jackson also stated his opinion that texts and tunes evolved simultaneously during the revival fervor.[96] The absence of tune-books to accompany the texts of Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns or Goddard's Collection makes the documentation of the Separatist tunes less clear than that of their New Light counterparts.

There are three tune-books which may be considered as sources. In 1804 Samuel Holyoke published The Christian Harmonist, a book of tunes for use by Baptist churches.[97] It is probable that Holyoke's book was intended for the urban Baptist churches of New England. The book was not reprinted

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[96]George Pullen Jackson, White and Negro Spirituals (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1943), p. 66.

[97]Samuel Holyoke, The Christian Harmonist: containing a set of tunes adapted to all the metres in Mr. Rippon's Selection of Hymns, in the Collections of Mr. Joshua Smith, and in Dr. Watts' Psalms and Hymns (Salem: 1804). I have been unable to examine a copy of this work.

and there are no records of the work's circulation in the frontier areas. Lowens stated that Holyoke had attempted in this work to compose in the folk idiom, and that it was "possible that some of the tunes were notated directly from the oral tradition."[98] It is difficult, however, to ascertain the value of this work in relation to the development of the folk hymn.

The second and most important source of tunes associated with the Separatist Baptists was Jeremiah Ingalls' The Christian Harmony of 1805. Ingalls (1764-1838), an elder in the Congregationalist church in Newbury, Vermont, an innkeeper and a cooper, was one of the first of the singing-school masters to publish music for the dissenting groups. In his book the anthems and fuging tunes were mixed generously with a variety of hymn tunes, many from English secular folk-music. Ingalls printed The Christian Harmony in Exeter, New Hampshire, but intended the book for his neighbors in Vermont.[99] Apparently, Henry Ranlet of Exeter had the only music font in the region and both Ingalls and Holyoke had tune books printed in his shop. Separate Baptists were strong in this area, emigrating from Connecticut and Massachusetts when the New Hampshire

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[98]Lowens, Introduction to the DaCapo edition of Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music, Part Second (New York: DaCapo Press, 1964), p. vi.

[99]Jeremiah Ingalls, The Christian Harmony, or Songster's Companion (Exeter, New Hampshire: H. Ranlet, 1805).

and Vermont regions opened for settlement after the war with the French.[100]

Many of the texts in Ingalls' book were from Watts, Wesley, Newton, and the English Evangelicals, but over half the texts were of American origin. Some texts can be identified but many remain anonymous. The texts are, in general, Calvinistic evangelical in theology. The Christian Harmony did not sell widely and had no second edition. The failure of this book to be popular is difficult to explain, but there were a number of factors which may have contributed to its limited circulation.

1. The singing practices among the Separate Baptists were primarily an impromptu response to a strong emotional milieu. The idea of an awkward "long-boy," containing vocal parts being used by a congregation given to shouting, "exercises," and the like is ludicrous. The tradition of the Separatists' prohibition of written aids for ministers probably applied equally to singers, further hindering the book's acceptance.

2. Vermont was not on the main exodus route to the "Western lands" of Kentucky and the South. The northern frontier of Vermont had little attraction for new settlers after 1800. John Wyeth's Repository: Part Second appeared eight years later in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, a key town in the Westward migration, and became one of the most popu-

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[100]Goen, op. cit., pp. 243-45.

lar of the long-boys. It contained the same type of folk hymns that Ingalls had published.

3. In 1805, in Vermont, the Separatists' revivalism was still an activity of a dissenting sect; its institutionalization in the form of the camp meeting was not an accomplished fact, and its music was not ready for permanent form in a book. Some of Ingalls' texts and tunes were to disappear before the appearance of Joseph Hillman's The Revivalist in 1868, the next New England publication to contain the folk hymns and spirituals from the nineteenth century camp-meeting revivals.[101]

It has been assumed by Jackson and others that Ingalls' publication was intended for Baptists, but there is no conclusive evidence to support this claim. Internal evidence found in this study binds the work to Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns.

The first link between the two works is Ingalls' use of descriptive titles rather than tune names. These titles are similar in many instances to the headings used by Smith to described the subject of the text which followed. Ingalls used traditional names for existing tunes such as FALMOUTH, but for those which were taken from oral tradition or were products of his own composition the title was taken from the text with which it was associated. For example, the text

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[101]Joseph Hillman, The Revivalist (Albany, N. Y.: 1868).

from Smith's "Savior I do feel thy merit" is given not a tune name of a place or person, as was customary, but the title "The Savior's Merit." From this practice one may assume that many of the tunes in Ingalls, unlike the psalm tunes, did not have a separate existence from the text, but were wedded together in oral tradition. This supports Jackson's theory that tune and text evolved simultaneously among the revivalistic sects.

The strongest link between Smith's Divine Hymns and Ingalls' Christian Harmony is in the number of texts which they have in common. There are 137 texts used in The Christian Harmony in fuging tunes, psalm paraphrases and folk hymns. Fifty-six of the texts, mostly those used in the folk hymns, also appear in one of Smith's editions until the Northrup edition published in 1803. There were other Separatist texts which appeared in John Peak's New Collection but were not in Smith's Hymns.

The texts of the Separate Baptists represent forty-one per cent of the total texts of The Christian Harmony. Ingalls was not a Baptist, and even though his own denomination, the Congregationalists, differed in the degree of revivalistic enthusiasm to be found in individual churches, there was little reason for him to choose such a large number of Separatist texts had he not expected this to aid in the book's acceptance.

There were texts in The Christian Harmony which have

not been attributed to a Separatist Baptist source by this investigation. They may be considered the products of some unknown compiler, an anonymous hymn-writer, or even of Ingalls himself. It is significant that these texts differ little from Smith and Peak's texts in theology, literary merit, and symbolism. In these texts it is also possible to trace the subject material by which the texts of the Separatists are defined.

Regarding exhortation to seek salvation, Ingalls included:

> Young man indulge thy passion
> And lavish out thy youth
> In ev'ry sinful fashion,
> And don't regard the truth;
> Nor hear God's threat'ning ensign
> That what you list, that do;
> But know that this is seed time,
> There comes a harvest, too.
>
> But yet your glass is running
> And vengeance yet doth wait,
> But soon the day is coming
> When it will be too late.
> The jubilee is sounding,
> Then don't be found at last
> God's holy spirit wounding
> And you in darkness cast.[102]

This text was typical of the pleading entreaties to seek salvation which were musical manifestations of the exhortation of Tennent, Whitefield and Davenport. They were, perhaps, the hymns which Crosswell had in mind when he spoke of singing being the means of initiating the conversion experience

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[102]Ingalls, op. cit., p. 94.

in the individual. Later forms of this type of hymn can be seen in the gospel songs of Ira Sankey.[103] The texts, by implying that the individual had a choice of salvation or damnation, were harbingers of the Arminianism of nineteenth-century evangelists Charles G. Finney and D. L. Moody.

The emphasis on "free grace" or God's favor, unmerited by any act or intrinsic value of man, a cardinal tenet of Calvinism, was represented:

> Thy mercy, my God, is the theme of my song;
> The joy of my heart and the boast of my tongue;
> Thy free grace alone from the first to the last
> Hath won my affections and bound my soul fast.[104]

The joy that accompanied the last stage of the Separatist conversion gave the convert reason to sing. Rejoicing in the religious experience was one of the chief transformations of Calvinistic theology wrought by the revival. The Separatists cultivated a large body of these texts:

> O glorious hope of perfect love,
> It lifts me up to things above,
> It bears on eagle's wings.
> It gives my ravish'd soul to taste
> And makes me for some moments feast
> With Jesus, priests and kings.[105]

The public proclamation of the conversion experience before other Separatists, the means by which election for salvation was recognized and church membership allowed, was often presented in ballad form. The relating of a conversion experience was a practice of the Separatists in "testimonies"

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[103]James Downey, "The Gospel Hymn, 1875-1930."

[104]Ingalls, op. cit., p. 126. [105]Ibid., p. 40.

such as the verse:

Ye brave and bold, ye brisk and dull,
Come listen to my story;
I'll tell you things which I have seen,
Surpassing all in glory.
When I was young and brisk and gay,
My heart was set on pleasure;
And in the wand'ring path of youth
I sought to find a treasure.

I was brought up before the bar,
My sins were all arranged.
Then they were all made plain to me;
My questioning was changed.
Hell was my lot, I clearly saw,
If I had not remission;
And just 'twould be if God should leave
Me in this sad condition.

Then he reveal'd his love to me,
Sweeter than Samson's honey.
I had my fill both night and day
For neither price nor money.
O! then said I, if such a wretch
Has in the Lord found favor,
Surely there's room for all mankind
In my capacious Savior.[106]

Verses of this type form the body of religious ballads of personal experience. The use of the first person singular sets this category apart from the hymns of exhortation and from spirituals which form the main body of religious folk-song.

Another question not completely answered by Jackson's studies was the source of the tunes. In Another Sheaf of White Spirituals he listed specific folk tunes from which

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[106]Ibid., p. 33.

the folk hymns were derived.[107] These melodies were probably taken from oral tradition by Ingalls who added treble and bass parts. This may have occasioned the remark in the Preface that some were "wholly and some in part, the original compositions of the author." The second group, the compositions written by Ingalls such as NORTHFIELD were not identified. A third category of tunes were those which were selected "from various authors which are credited where they are known."[108]

A question arises about whether Ingalls took secular tunes directly and adapted them to sacred texts, or whether he simply recorded existing adaptations. It is probable that he did both. Ingalls served in the militia, like many of his generation, and may have played several instruments. To such men the marching tunes were familiar melodies heard in the streets. One such tune adapted to the folk text "Christ, the Appletree" appeared in the publication of Ingalls. George Pullen Jackson found in the Willard Manuscript of the Newberry Library of Chicago a fifer tune titled "Handel's Quick March." Similarities between the tunes are evident:

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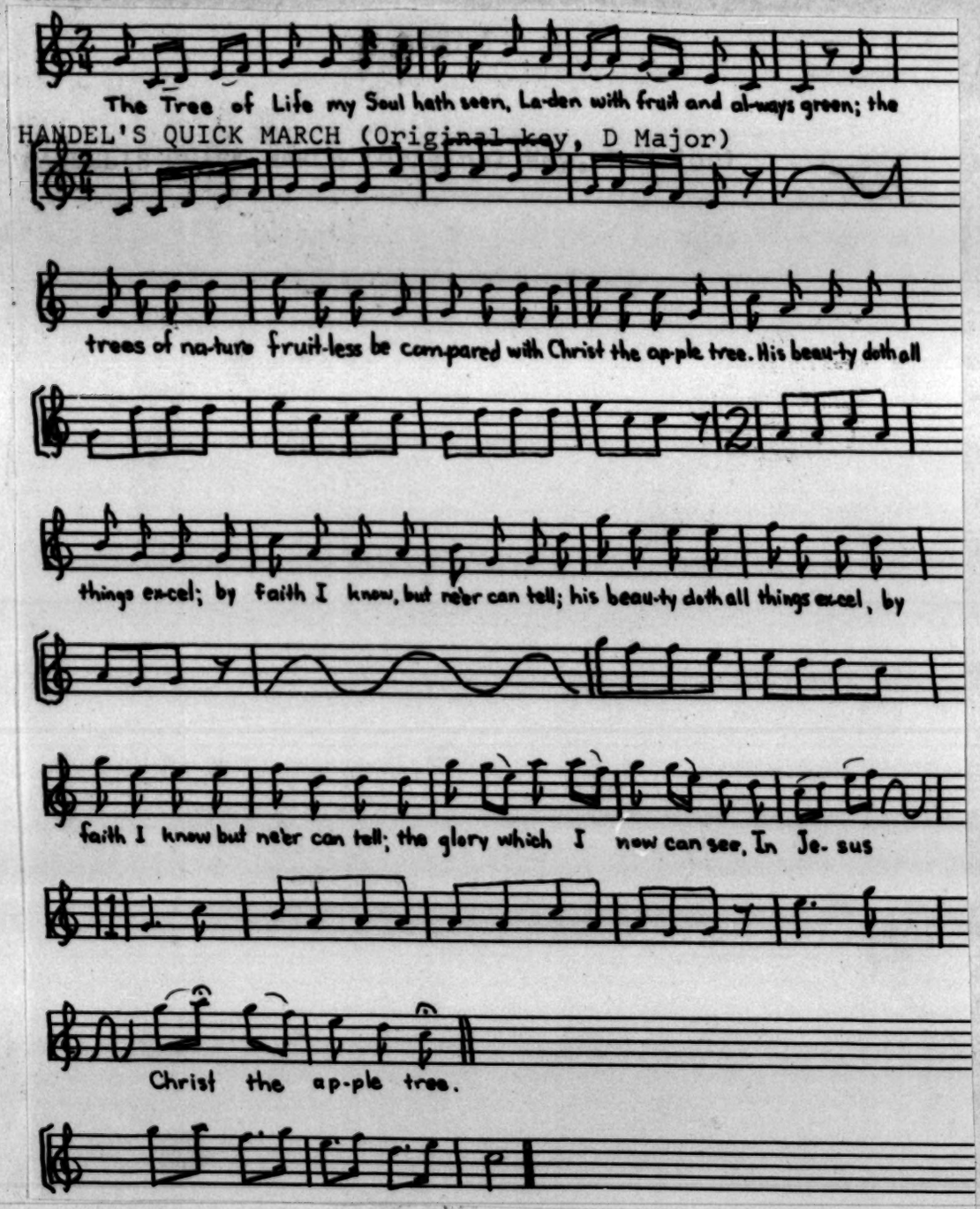
[107]George Pullen Jackson, Another Sheaf of White Spirituals (Gainesville: The University of Florida Press, 1952).

[108]Ingalls, op. cit., the Preface.

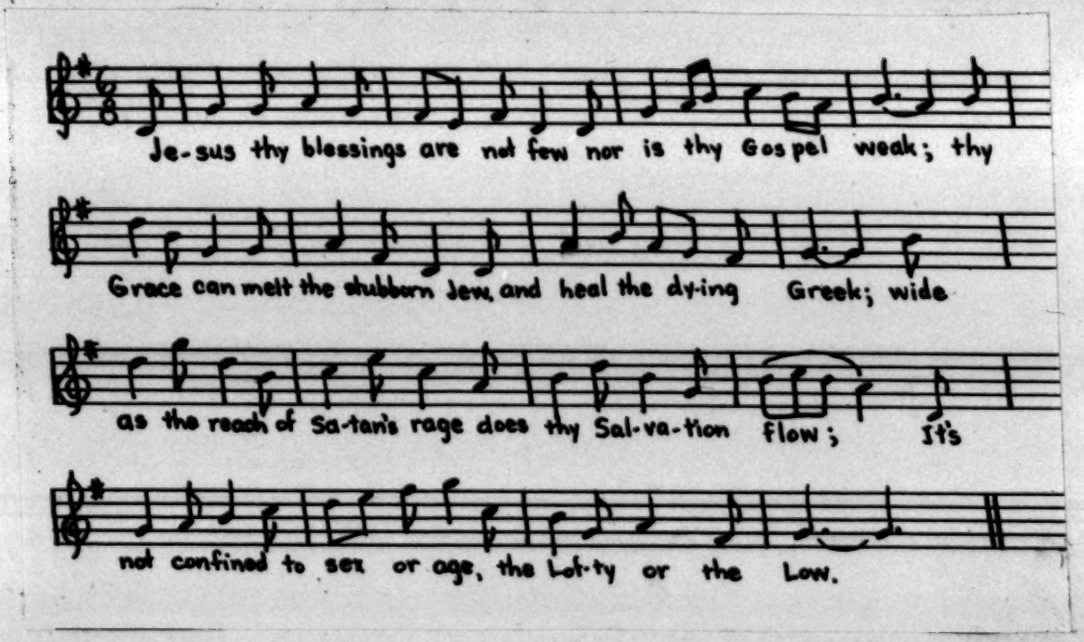
CHRIST THE APPLETREE[109]


The Tree of Life my Soul hath seen, La-den with fruit and al-ways green; the
HANDEL'S QUICK MARCH (Original key, D Major)
trees of na-ture fruit-less be com-pared with Christ the ap-ple tree. His beau-ty doth all
things ex-cel; by faith I know, but ne'er can tell; his beau-ty doth all things ex-cel, by
faith I know but ne'er can tell; the glory which I now can see, In Je- sus
Christ the ap-ple tree.

[109]Ingalls, op. cit., p. 81.

Other tunes in Ingalls' book are instrumental in character. The ornaments, arpeggiated lines and the relatively high tessitura of this tune suggest wind instruments:

RICH PROVISION[110]


Je-sus thy blessings are not few nor is thy Gospel weak; thy
Grace can melt the stubborn Jew, and heal the dy-ing Greek; wide
as the reach of Sa-tan's rage does thy Sal-va-tion flow; It's
not confined to sex or age, the Lof-ty or the Low.

As if in defense of borrowing from the secular realm, Ingalls included the text from Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns:

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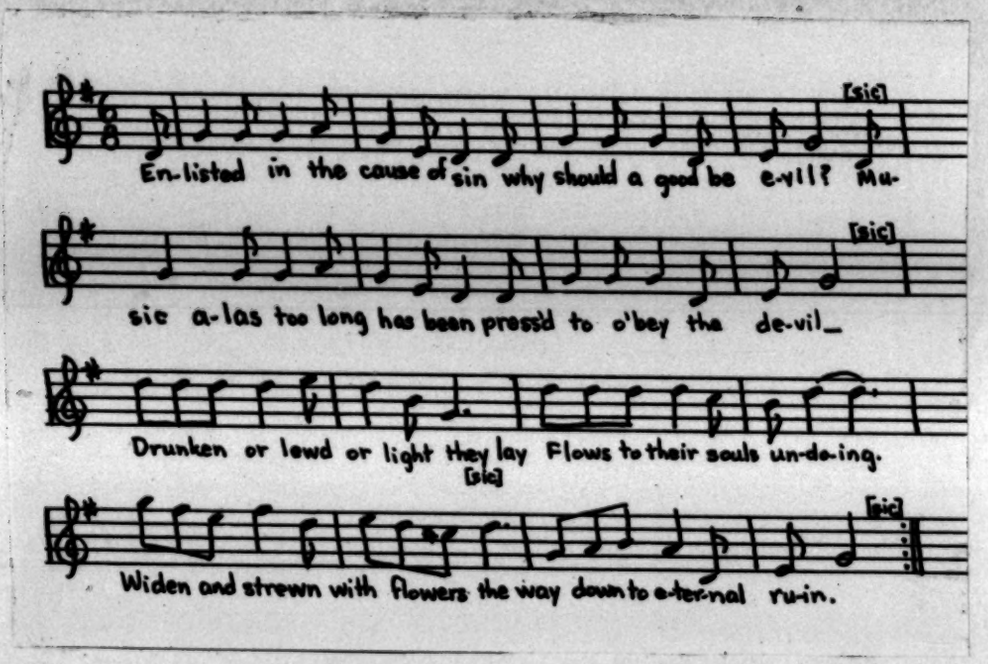
[110]Ibid., p. 61.

ENLISTED IN THE CAUSE OF SIN[111]


[sic]
En-listed in the cause of sin why should a good be e-vil? Mu-
[sic]
sic a-las too long has been pressd to o'bey the de-vil_
Drunken or lewd or light they lay Flows to their souls un-de-ing.
[sic]
[sic]
Widen and strewn with flowers the way down to e-ter-nal ru-in.

Other tunes with characteristics of instrumental origin were HEAVENLY CONTENTION, CHANNEL OF MERCY, and JERICHO. In 1813, the third collection containing folk hymns of the rural evangelicals appeared in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania--John Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music; Part Second.[112] This work went into six editions, the last appearing in 1834. Wyeth was a Unitarian who published a weekly newspaper in Harrisburg, a flourishing town on the road to the western

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[111]Ibid., p. 71.

[112]John Wyeth, Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second (Harrisburg: John Wyeth, 1813). The facsimile copy which I used in this analysis was the second edition, 1820, published by Da Capo Press (New York: 1964).

frontier and the southland. Unlike Ingalls, Wyeth was not a singing-school master, and, as far as can be ascertained, was unable to read music. There is a note preceding the Rudiments section in which a Methodist minister, E. K. Dare, is credited with preparing the theoretical material. There are thirteen tunes in the collection which are attributed to Dare. Wyeth said that Dare had prepared a manuscript which he hoped "ere long to see published entire."[113] It is probable that the Repository: Part Second owes more to Dare than to Wyeth, as far as choice of tunes and editing are concerned.

It is difficult to relate the Repository: Part Second to the Separatists of New England. The work contained texts which are found in Joshua Smith's Divine Hymns, but generally they were those which were so popular that they were included in most of the collections available at the time. There were few texts which suggested origin among the unlettered Baptists on the frontier. There were only eleven texts in Wyeth's work which appeared in the Divine Hymns, all of which can also be found in the works of Watts, Rippon, or Newton.[114] There were

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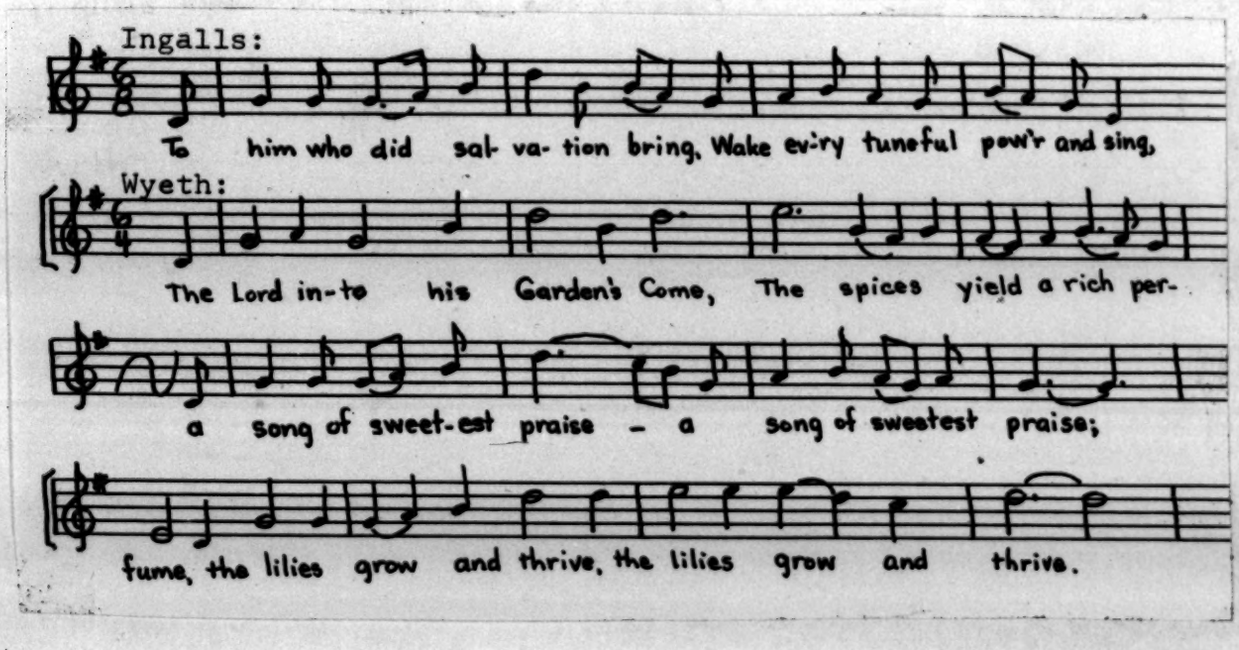
[113] Ibid., p. 3.

[114] The texts are:
Come Ye that love the Lord (Watts)
When I can read my title clear (Watts)
Hark, how the gospel trumpet sounds (Cole)
Come, thou fount of every blessing (Robinson)
Alas, and did my Savior Bleed (Watts)
All Hail the Power of Jesus's Name (Perronet-Rippon)
Come Holy Spirit, Heav'nly Dove (Watts)
Children of the Heav'nly King
Lord Dismiss Us with thy Blessing (Fawcett)

five texts in the Repository: Part Second which appeared in the Philadelphia Choice Collection.[115]

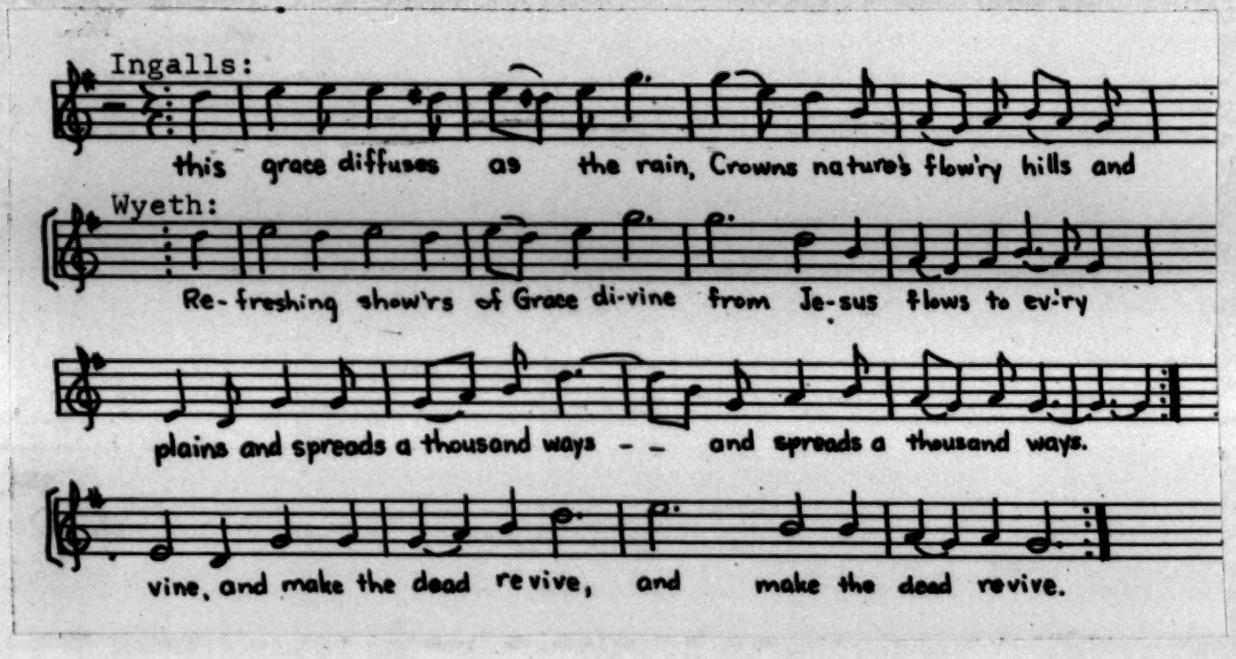
There is little evidence that the compiler of Wyeth's Repository: Part Second knew Ingalls' Christian Harmony but each drew from the same tradition. Here is the folk hymn listed most often as GARDEN HYMN as it appeared in both collections:[116]


Ingalls:
To him who did sal- va- tion bring, Wake ev-ry tuneful pow'r and sing,
Wyeth:
The Lord in-to his Garden's Come, The spices yield a rich per-
a song of sweet-est praise - a song of sweetest praise;
fume, the lilies grow and thrive, the lilies grow and thrive.

My God the Spring of All My Joys (Watts)
O, If my Lord would Come and Meet

[115]They are:
How Beauteous are thy feet
Let Every Mortal Ear Attend
Now begin the Heavenly Theme
Now Shall my Inward Joys Arise
Before Jehovah's Awful Throne

[116]Ingalls, op. cit., p. 63, and Wyeth, op. cit., p. 94.


Ingalls:
this grace diffuses as the rain, Crowns nature's flow'ry hills and
Wyeth:
Re-freshing show'rs of Grace di-vine from Je-sus flows to ev-'ry
plains and spreads a thousand ways - - and spreads a thousand ways.
vine, and make the dead revive, and make the dead revive.

The evidence of a process of simplification seen here appears to hold true for Wyeth's entire collection; there were fewer metrical changes, rhythmic intricacies, and chromaticism in the later publication than in Ingalls' work. There are also numerous evidences of "tune families" in each compilation. Incipits often appear to be the same but soon break off in what could be called a variation which follows the same contour and harmonic scheme, but with a melodic line which differs from the earlier source.

It is probable that the Ingalls publication represents an earlier, more isolated form of the Separatist musical

tradition than does the Repository: Part Second. Wyeth's work appeared in 1813 in an area where the camp-meeting fervor was strong, and represents the music of a greater cross section of the evangelical enthusiasm on the Southern and Western frontiers. The Baptists of the Northern frontier who used Ingalls' Christian Harmony were representative of the separatist sects of 1740-1780. The people who used the Repository: Part Second after 1813 were participants in a frontier revivalism that was an amalgam of New Side, New Light, Methodist and Baptist efforts. Ingalls' work was isolated and provincial; Wyeth's collection was more national in character and influence, judging from its publication history and its appeal to later compilers to the West and South.

The Repository: Part Second was the means of introducing the folk hymn into the singing-school tradition in the South.[117] Ananias Davisson, James M. Boyd, Allen D. Carden, Joseph Funk, William Walker, and B. F. White all drew tunes from the book and added various other tunes from oral tradition in the manner of the compiler of the Repository.[118]

The Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second contains

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[117]See Irving Lowens' Introduction to the Da Capo Press edition of the Repository: Part Second, p. vi.

[118]This point is mentioned in Lowen's Introduction to Wyeth's work and is developed in detail in Harry L. Eskew, op. cit.

forty-four folk hymns as Lowens defines the form-class. The tunes can be linked to the revivalism of the eighteenth century by various means, the first of which is textual evidence. The hymn texts were definitely evangelical in character, drawn from Watts, the English Evangelicals, and anonymous poets. The same themes, symbols, and phraseology found among the New England Baptists are also to be found in Wyeth's collection.

A second evidence of the association of this book with revivalistic groups was recognized by Irving Lowens, although he did not elaborate on his sources of information:

> Part Second was something new to the tune book field, an attempt to supply the musical needs of the vast market created by the revivals and camp-meetings so prevalent in Pennsylvania at the time.
>
> The collection was designed to attract Methodist and Baptist groups, who were the singers of folk-hymnody at the time. This was a large and expanding market; the revivalist fervor and religious enthusiasm then sweeping the country were making many converts, the ranks of the folk-hymn singers were rapidly increasing, and no collection of the sort envisioned by Wyeth was available to them.[119]

The link between the Repository: Part Second and the singing-school movement is firmly established by evidences found in later tunebooks. It is not possible to establish the relationship between this book and revivalism by the same means. In an investigation of some twenty

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[119]Lowens, loc. cit., pp. vii, xii.

songsters published after 1805, I have not found references to Wyeth's collection as a source of tunes for the revival spirituals. There were hymns in these songsters which also appeared in Wyeth in some form, but the compilers did not specifically mention his tunes for their texts.

The Folk Hymns: A Musical Analysis

For the purpose of classifying the musical characteristics of the tunes from Ingalls' Christian Harmony and Wyeth's Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second, eighty-five tunes were selected for analysis.

1. The Christian Harmony

Forty-five tunes from Ingalls' collection were chosen and form the basis for this analysis.[120]

Melody: There were more examples of the use of gapped scales in the folk hymns than in the psalm tunes of the early singing-school masters analyzed in Chapter III. Pentatonic scales were used in four tunes; the tones omitted were the fourth and seventh degrees of the scale. There were twelve tunes in which only six tones were used, the fourth degree of the scale being omitted. Twenty-nine of the tunes used all the tones of the major or minor mode. Jackson made a study of a larger body of tunes taken from this collection and others

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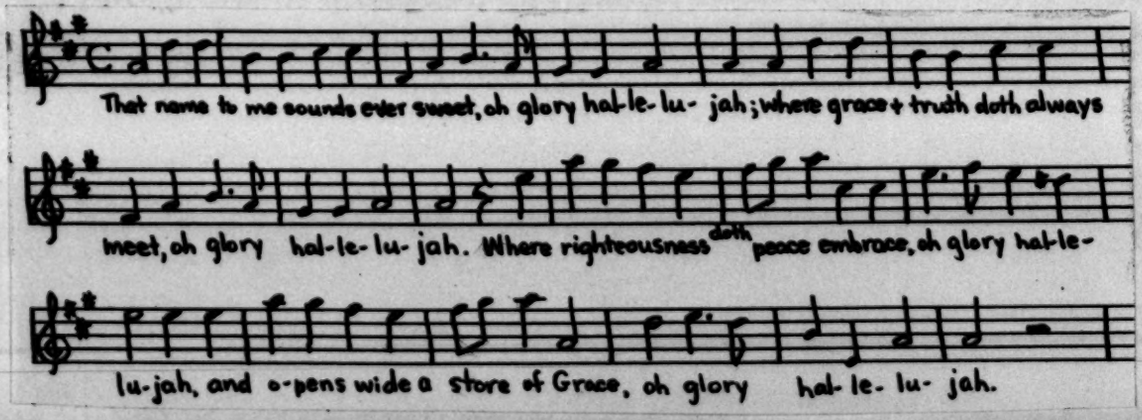
[120]A list of the tunes selected for this study appears as Appendix IVa.

published after 1813.[121] From the differences between my analysis and his, one may assume that the tunes in Ingalls' work are not entirely representative of the folk hymns as they appeared in the half century after 1810. Jackson also used primarily publications of Southern compilers. The differences are not great enough to exclude this early publication of Ingalls as a source of folk hymns. According to Jackson's survey, twenty-five percent of the folk hymns used a pentatonic scale, and forty percent, a hexatonic. Seven-tone scales were used in thirty-five percent of the tunes.

The tunes were evenly divided between the plagal (23) and the authentic modes (22). Only two tunes were in traditional modal form, the Mixolydian GREAT PHYSICIAN and the Dorian CANAAN. The natural minor prevailed over altered forms. Modal ambiguity was present in some tunes:

HALLELUJAH HYMN[122]


That name to me sounds ever sweet, oh glory hal-le-lu- jah; where grace & truth doth always
meet, oh glory hal-le-lu-jah. Where righteousness doth peace embrace, oh glory hal-le-
lu-jah, and o-pens wide a store of Grace, oh glory hal-le-lu-jah.

[121] George Pullen Jackson, Down East Spirituals and Others (Locust Valley, New York: J. J. Augustin, Inc., 1939), pp. 8-9.

[122] Ingalls, op. cit., p. 42.

The final tones of the cadences were most often approached from above by step, as evidenced in twenty-seven tunes. Only seven melodies approached the final tone from the seventh degree of the scale. One employed the 5-6-1 figure so often found at various points inside the phrase. Four tunes ended with the skip 3-1 or 3-1-1. Masculine endings were present in thirty-four tunes, and feminine endings in eleven. The repeated final, a significant new cadence form, almost non-existent in the psalm tunes of the singing-school masters, appeared to be one of the chief characteristics of the folk hymns of Ingalls' collection.

The 5-1 incipits were most common (21); only one melody employed the variant 5-6-1 opening. The 1-2, 1-3, or 1-5 incipits appeared in sixteen tunes. The 5-3, 3-5, 3-4-5 incipits were present in four tunes, and 1-7-1 in three.

According to Jackson's analysis, the folk hymn incipits appeared in the following order of frequency:

first: 1-1

second: 5-1

third: 1-3

fourth: 3-1

Other common openings were 5-6-1, 1-2-3, and 3-2-1.[123]

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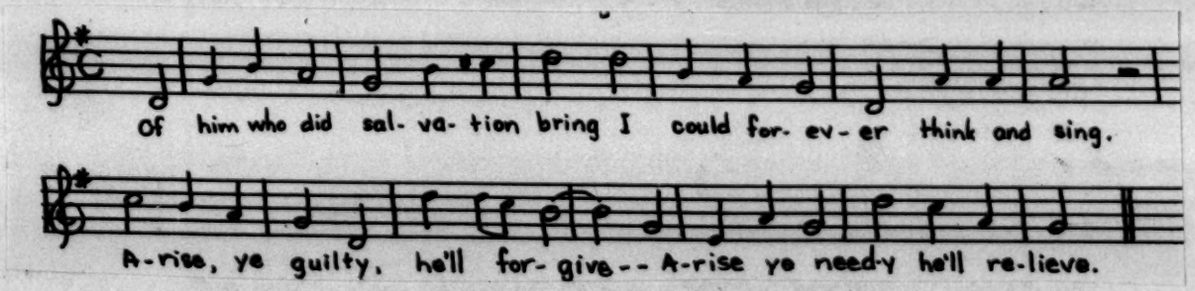
[123]George Pullen Jackson, Spiritual Folk-Songs of Early America (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1937), p. 13.

These findings were not supported entirely by my analysis of the folk hymns in the Christian Harmony. Twenty of the melodies were built primarily of triadic motives, the remaining twenty-five were conjunct or scalar.

The melodic ranges generally were the same as those of the psalm tunes. Fourteen tunes spanned an octave; nine, ten steps; and nine, eleven steps. One tune fell within a fifth and one extended to cover an octave and a sixth.

Rhythm: Thirty-nine of the forty-four tunes began with an upbeat, a pronounced departure from the psalm-tune model. Only six tunes began on a strong beat. The durational values were generally smaller than in the psalm tunes, with less range and variety. There was no evidence of any common rhythmic patterns or cliches, and few generalizations can be made regarding motivic relationships within the class. Modal rhythmic schemes were used:

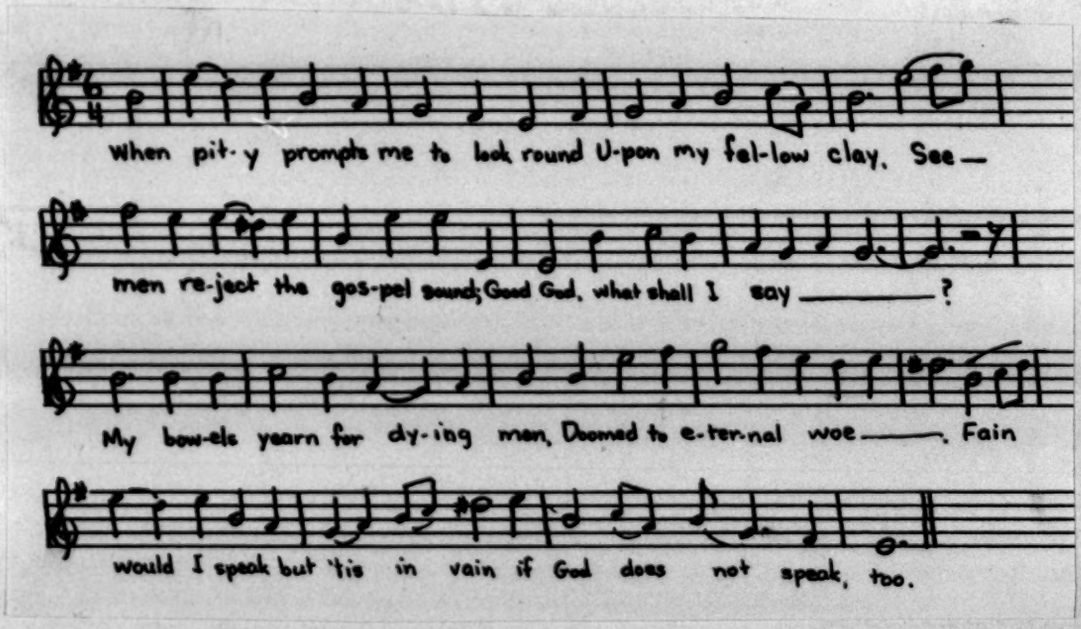
THINK AND SING[124]



[124]Ingalls, op. cit., p. 103.

Durational values in most of the tunes were small, usually ♩ ♪ or ♩. ♪. Dotted figures were less common than in the psalm tunes previously analyzed. Meter changes and irregular phrases were present, although Ingalls' notation did not always indicate the change, often resulting in unusually awkward extensions and improper barring. The changes occurred by the addition of a beat unit to a phrase, 6/8 to 9/8, or 2/2 to 3/2. Ingalls may have attempted to reproduce faithfully the free metrical renditions of his informants, but compromises were necessary in the notation:

THE SINNER'S WARNING[125]


When pit-y prompts me to look round U-pon my fel-low clay. See—
men re-ject the gos-pel sound; Good God, what shall I say ——?
My bow-els yearn for dy-ing men, Doomed to e-ter-nal woe——. Fain
would I speak but 'tis in vain if God does not speak, too.

Ingalls' metrical schemes were often poor choices for his tunes.

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[125] Ibid., p. 106. George Pullen Jackson in Another Sheaf of White Spirituals, p. 110, presented the tune with a different meter and barring.

Meter distribution was as follows:

2/4, eighteen tunes

3/4, six tunes

4/4, three tunes

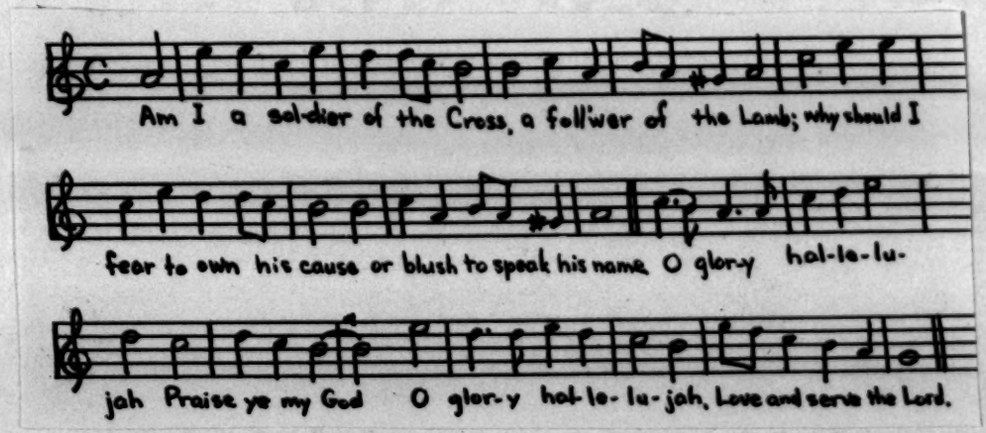
6/8, ten tunes

2/2, four tunes

3/2, four tunes

Form: Repetition of lines was much more evident in the folk hymns than in the psalm tunes. Twenty-four of the tunes employed the restatement of a couplet, and eight tunes used repetition of a single line. There were only ten tunes which were through-composed. There was one example of a tag-line construction, the HALLELUJAH HYMN.[126] Refrains were added to existing stanzas:

SOLDIER OF THE CROSS[127]


Am I a sol-dier of the Cross, a foll'wer of the Lamb; why should I
fear to own his cause or blush to speak his name O glor-y hal-le-lu-
jah Praise ye my God O glor-y hal-le-lu-jah, Love and serve the Lord.

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[126] Ibid., p. 42. The entire melodic form is given on page 145.

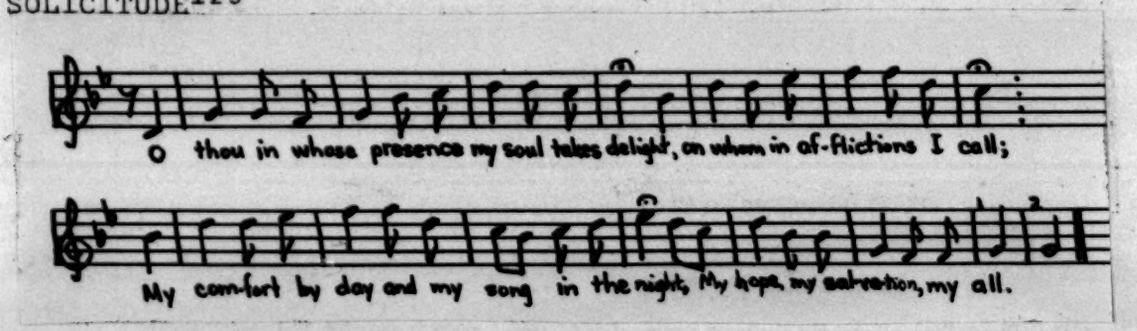
[127] Ibid., p. 65.

2. The Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second

Forty folk hymns from Wyeth's collection were selected for analysis.[128] The tunes revealed the following characteristics.

Melody: There were only two five-tone scales used, both in major melodies without fourth or seventh degrees. There were nineteen tunes which used a six-tone scale; eight in major without a leading-tone, four in major without a fourth degree, and six in minor with no sixth degree. One tune, an ambiguous major-minor melody, was harmonized in minor without a second degree.

SOLICITUDE[129]


O thou in whose presence my soul takes delight, on whom in af-flictions I call;
My com-fort by day and my song in the night, My hope, my sal-vation, my all.

Minor tunes in the folk tradition usually omit the sixth degree and major melodies most often avoid the leading-tone. It is probable that SOLICITUDE was originally in a major mode. It should be noted that this compilation regarding gapped scales in Wyeth's collection differs from the findings of Jackson which cover a larger area, but the differences are not such as to exclude Wyeth's Repository: Part Second.

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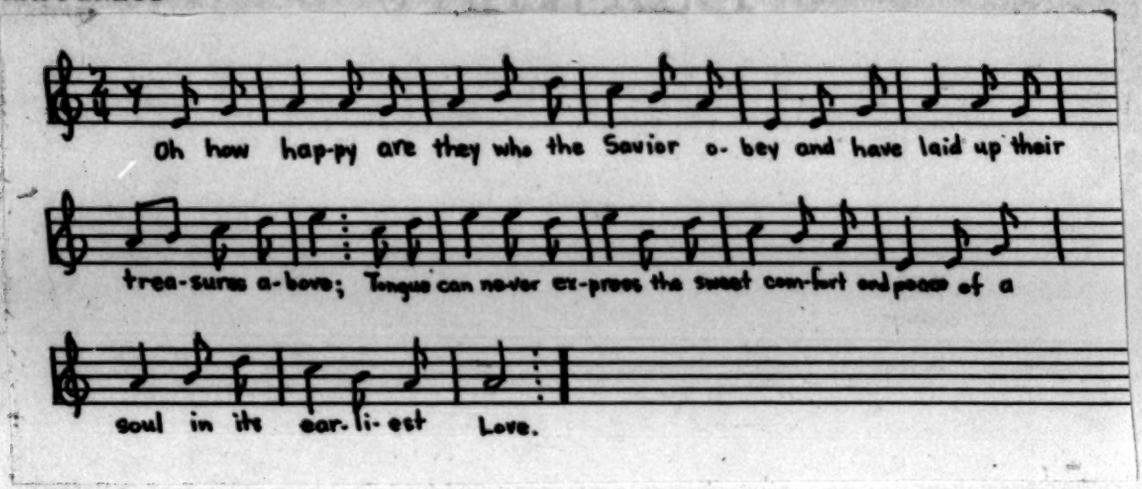
[128] A list of the tunes used appears in Appendix IVb.

[129] Wyeth, op. cit., p. 109.

HAPPINESS[130]


Oh how hap-py are they who the Savior o- bey and have laid up their
trea-sures a-bove; Tongue can never ex-press the sweet com-fort and peace of a
soul in its ear-li-est Love.

Dotted figures were present, but not to the extent found in the psalm tunes of the singing-school masters. The durational ranges were small, usually ♩ ♪ to ♩ ♪ . Triplet figures ♪♪₃ were present in several tunes.

Meter changes were present in a few tunes, but there were few irregular phrases. This was a significant difference between Wyeth's Part Second and the Christian Harmony, but again the difference was probably the result of editorial practice, not inherent differences between the tunes.

Meter distribution was as follows:

C	eighteen tunes	6/4	four tunes
2/4	nine tunes	3/4	four tunes
3/2	three tunes	6/8	two tunes

Form: Repetition of lines and couplets was more evident in Wyeth's work than in Ingalls'. Twenty-eight tunes used repetition of a single phrase or of two phrases.

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[130]Wyeth, op. cit., p. 98.

The melodies were not evenly divided between plagal and authentic forms of the scale: There were twenty-seven tunes in plagal arrangement and thirteen in authentic.

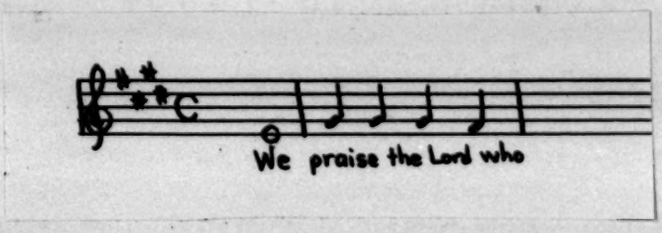
Incipits were predominately 5-1 or the variant 5-6-1. Conjunct or step incipits, 1-7-1 or 1-2 were present in six tunes. Triadic motives 3-5, 1-3 or 5-3 appeared in thirteen tunes. Cadences were all masculine, a significant difference between Wyeth's collection and that of Ingalls. This difference may have been the result of the process of simplification already noted in the Repository: Part Second. The editor, not the singers from whom the tune was copied, was probably the one responsible for this characteristic. The final notes of the cadence were approached from above in twenty-nine tunes. The 3-2-1 approach to the final was most prevalent in these tunes (sixteen tunes). The reiterated final, already mentioned as a "signature" of the folk practice, was present in six tunes.

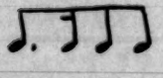
The tunes were more ambiguous in mode than either the psalm tunes or those in Ingall's collection. Ambiguity between major and minor was present in ten tunes. The settings were usually in two parts, bass and treble. Twenty-two were major and eighteen were minor. A significant difference between Wyeth's collection and the Christian Harmony was the absence of chromaticism in the later work. Wyeth's tunes, with three exceptions, did not employ the raised seventh degree in minor melodies. This also could have been a charac-

teristic of the editing. Secondary dominants requiring chromatic alteration were not in evidence.

Twenty-five of the melodies were scalar or conjunct; fifteen were triadic. The melodic spans were narrower than those of Ingalls' work, perhaps because of fewer tunes of apparent instrumental origin. Only one tune spanned a twelfth, three a tenth, twelve a ninth, and eleven an octave. Four tunes were less than an octave in range. The melodic skips were small: there were a few sixths, but most tunes did not exceed a fourth.

Rhythm: Unlike Ingalls' tunes which usually began with an upbeat, Wyeth's collection had only nineteen tunes with an up beat. Many of the twenty-one tunes have only one syllable given to a whole note (in 4/4 meter) in the opening measure--another example of the "tidiness" and simplification of Wyeth's editor.



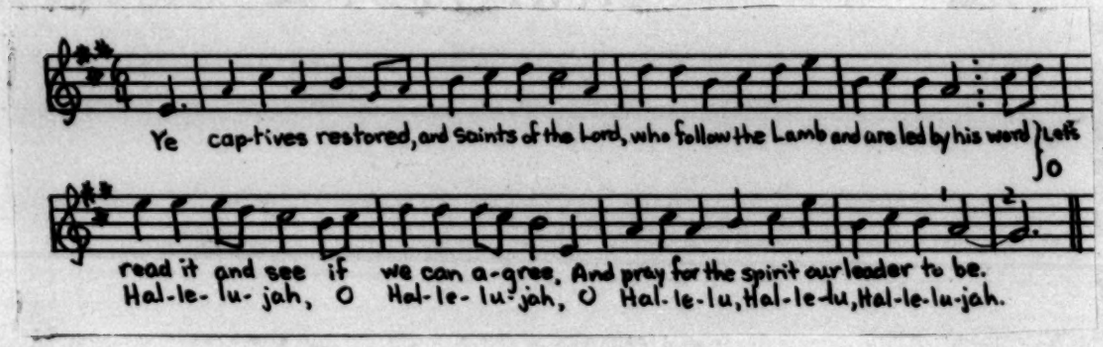
There were a few instances of the "hallelujah" motive  , but the tunes were relatively simple rhythmically. Some modal schemes were present, however, as in SOLICITUDE, HAPPINESS and NEW CANAAN.

Form: Formal characteristics of the tunes were similar:

There were sixteen tunes which could be considered through-composed. Thirteen tunes used the simple AABA pattern and six used a barform arrangement AAB(C). There were five tunes organized on an ABCA scheme.

Frequently, the last couplet of the tune was marked with a repeat sign designating the repetition of both music and text. Such a practice was an excellent opportunity for the insertion of one of the couplets which were then in use as a refrain, for example, "O, Halle, Hallelujah!"

RESTORATION[131]


Ye cap-tives restored, and Saints of the Lord, who follow the Lamb and are led by his word
read it and see if we can a-gree. And pray for the spirit our leader to be.
Hal-le-lu-jah, O Hal-le-lu-jah, O Hal-le-lu, Hal-le-lu, Hal-le-lu-jah.

Revivalism after 1800

This study ends with the publication of the Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second by John Wyeth, which, while appearing some thirteen years after the resurgence of revivalism in the form of the camp meeting, was representative of a much older revivalistic tradition--rural Separatism. It is necessary that this study of the music of the eighteenth century acknowledge this period of the "Second Awakening" or camp-

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[131]Wyeth, op. cit., p. 104.

meeting revival of the frontier as the beginning of a new theological reorientation and, consequently, a new musical practice. The camp meetings, in their early stages, were nothing more than the ascendency of the Separatist evangelical activity in the newly settled western lands. The revivalism of the urban "New-Lights," Lyman Beecher and Asahel Nettleton, was a continuation of the moderate evangelical tradition of the eighteenth century. By the year 1830, however, frontier revivalism and urban evangelicalism had produced a force entirely different from that of the religious enthusiasm of 1740. It was personified in Charles G. Finney and his musical counterparts, Joshua Leavitt and Thomas Hastings.

Hence the year 1800 is the end of one era and the beginning of another. It was a gradual change, not an abrupt awakening as had occurred in 1740. The new music of the period found in camp-meeting songsters, The Village Hymns of Asahel Nettleton, The Christian Lyre of Joshua Leavitt, and the Spiritual Songs for Social Worship of Thomas Hastings, represents an evolution from psalm and hymn tunes into revival spirituals and gospel songs. It is a fertile field for the historian of American musical activity.

APPENDIX I

A Chronological List of the Publications of Watts, Whitefield, Newton and Rippon in America

Evans Number*	Year	Title	Suggested Location**
3135	1729	The Psalms of David, imitated in the language of the New Testament and apply'd to the Christian state of Worship. By Isaac Watts . . . 7th ed., Philadelphia: Franklin and Meredith.	HSP
	1739	Hymns and Spiritual Songs. In three books; I Collected from the Scriptures; II Composed on Divine Subjects; III Prepared for the Lord's Supper. By Isaac Watts . . . Boston: J. Draper	N/e
4672	1741	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Boston: G. Rogers and D. Fowle for J[oseph] Edwards.	LC
4673	1741	Idem. Philadelphia: B. Franklin (Advertised, Pennsylvania Gazette).	N/e
5087	1742	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Philadelphia: B. Franklin (Advertised, Pennsylvania Gazette).	N/e
5129	1743	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . 15th ed., Boston: Printed for and sold by J. Edwards in Cornhill (Advertized, Boston Gazette).	N/e

*This list has been prepared from several sources. The number assigned by Charles Evans in his Bibliography is given to facilitate identification and to indicate the microprint edition of the work in the Early American Imprints series of the American Antiquarian Society. I have examined many of the works, but I have not attempted to verify all of Evans' entries.

**The symbols used to indicate the location of each edition are basically the same as those used by Evans. The libraries are identified on page 170.

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
5307	1743	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Boston: For Charles Harrison (Advertised, Boston Evening Post).	N/e
6945	1752	Idem. New York: H. Gaine	N/e
6965	1753	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Philadelphia: J. Chattin	HSP
7150	1754	Idem. New York: H. Gaine (From an advertisement).	N/e
7620	1756	Idem. New York: H. Gaine.	N/e
7846	1757	A New Version of the Psalms of David fitted to the tunes used in churches. By N. Brady . . . and N. Tate . . . With Messiah, an hymn; and Hymns, chiefly from Watts. : Green and Russell.	AAS
7847	1757	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . 17th ed., Philadelphia: James Chattin (Advertised, Pennsylvania Gazette).	N/e
8545	1760	Idem.	N/e
8546	1760	Idem. Philadelphia: W. Dunlap.	HSP
8547	1760	Idem. Woodbridge, New Jersey: James Parker.	HSP
8797	1761	Idem. 23rd ed., Boston: D. and J. Kneeland.	AAS
8798	1761	Idem. New York: H. Gaine for Garrat and Alexander Noel.	NYPL
9036	1761	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . 18th ed., New York: H. Gaine.	AAS
9346	1763	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Boston: J. Kneeland for Edwards.	BPL

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
9913	1765	A New Version of the Psalms of David: By N. Tate and N. Brady. Second Title: Appendix, containing a number of Hymns, taken chiefly from Dr. Watts's Scriptural Collection. Boston: Kneeland and Adams for the Company of Stationers.	JCB
9914	1765	Idem. Boston: Printed for W. McAlpine and J. Fleeming.	AAS
10202	1765	Collection of Hymns, By Watts, Willison and Gillis. Wilmington: James Adams (Advertised, Pennsylvania Gazette).	N/e
10209	1765	George Whitefield, A Collection of Hymns for Social Worship, more particularly designed for the use of the Tabernacle Congregation in London . . . Philadelphia: William Bradford (Advertised, Pennsylvania Gazette).	N/e
10242	1766	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . 27th ed., Philadelphia: David Hall and William Sellers.	N/e
10559	1767	Idem. 25th ed., Boston: Kneeland and Adams for Wharton and Bowes.	AAS
10560	1767	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . With Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Boston: Printed for and sold by John Perkins.	N/e
10797	1767	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . 20th ed., Philadelphia: D. Hall and W. Sellers.	HSP
10836	1768	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . With the Preface, or, an inquiry into the right way of fitting the book of Psalms of Christian Worship, and notes. Boston: Mein and Fleeming.	MHS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
11116	1768	George Whitefield, A Collection of Hymns. New York: J. Parker, sold by Garrat Noel (From an advertisement).	N/e
11520	1769	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . 22nd ed., Boston: Mein and Fleeming.	AAS
11571	1770	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Boston: D. Kneeland and Nicholas Bowes.	AAS
11988	1771	A New Version . . . (With an Appendix containing a number of Hymns taken chiefly from Dr. Watts's Scriptural Collection. Boston: Ezekiel Russell.	AAS
11989	1771	Idem. Boston: Printed and sold by John Boyles.	AAS
11990	1771	Idem. Boston: J. Fleeming.	AAS
11991	1771	Idem. Boston: A. Barclay.	AAS
11992	1771	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . 27th ed., Boston: T. and J. Fleet.	AAS
12273	1771	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . 22nd ed., Boston: Printed for Henry Knox.	AAS
12274	1771	Idem. New York: H. Gaine	AAS
12324	1772	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . 27th ed., Boston: Printed for John Hodgson (From an advertisement).	N/e
12325	1772	Idem. 31st ed., Boston: Printed for and sold by John Perkins.	AAS
12326	1772	Idem. New York: Hugh Gaine	AAS
12605	1772	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . 22nd ed., Boston: J. Fleeming.	HC

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
12606	1772	Idem. 27th ed., Boston: T. and J. Fleet.	AAS
12679	1773	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Boston: Kneeland and Davis.	AAS
12680	1773	Idem. Norwich: Green and Spooner.	AAS
12681	1773	Idem. 13th ed., Philadelphia: n.p.	LCP
13068	1773	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Boston: Kneeland and Davis (From an advertisement).	N/e
13152	1774	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Norwich: Robertson and Trumbull.	LC
13835	1775	A New Version of the Psalms of David . . . By N. Brady and N. Tate. Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs in Three Books . . . (From an advertisement).	N/e
13836	1775	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Boston: n.p. (From an advertisement).	N/e
15742	1778	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers (From an advertisement).	N/e
16165	1778	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Philadelphia: Hall and Sellers (From an advertisement).	N/e
16714	1780	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Hartford: Patten and Webster.	NYPL
17097	1781	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: A Select number of Plain Tunes adapted to Congregational Worship. By Andrew Law. Philadelphia: R. Aitken.	NYPL

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
17098	1781	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . The fortieth edition, corrected and accommodated to the use of the Church of Christ in America. Second Title: A Select Number of Plain Tunes . . . Newbury-Port: John Mycall.	NYPL
17099	1781	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . The fortieth edition, corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. The fortieth edition corrected accommodated . . . Newbury-Port: John Mycall.	NYPL
19399	1781	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . The forty-first edition, corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Providence: Bennett Wheeler.	BU
17423	1781	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Providence: Bennett Wheeler.	
17475	1782	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Third Title: A Select Number of Plain Tunes. Providence: B. Wheeler.	
17791	1782	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . The fortieth edition, corrected and accommodated . . . Newbury-Port: John Mycall.	
17844	1783	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Chatham: Shepard Kollack.	
18357	1784	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . The forty-first edition, corrected accommodated . . . Hartford: Nathaniel Patten.	

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
18930	1785	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . The forty-fifth edition, corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs, Third Title: A Select Number of Plain Tunes. Boston: Norman and Bowen.	AAS
18931	1785	Doctor Watts' Imitation of the Psalms of David, corrected and enlarged. By Joel Barlow. To which is added a collection of Hymns; the whole applied to the state of the Christian Church in General. Hartford: Barlow and Babcock.	AAS
19444	1785	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . The thirty-ninth edition. Boston: Thomas and J. Fleet.	AAS
19508	1786	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Together with a collection of Hymns. By Isaac Watts, D.D. The first Worcester Edition. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas.	NYPL
19509	1786	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . .With indexes and Tables complete. The first Worcester Edition. Worcester: Isaiah Thomas.	
19510	1786	Doctor Watts' Imitation . . . The second edition. Hartford: Printed by Barlow and Babcock for Hudson and Goodwin, and Nathaniel Patten.	
20229	1787	Psalms, carefully suited to the Christian Worship in the United States of America. Being an improvement of the Old Versions of the Psalms of David. Allowed by the Reverend Synod of New York and Philadelphia to be used in churches and private families. Large type edition. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey.	

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
20230	1787	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Second Title: Hymns suited to the Christian Worship in the United States of America. Neatly printed in small type. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey.	
20231	1787	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . With an index, or table of contents and a table of first lines, etc. By Isaac Watts, D.D. A New Edition, with an Appendix. Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. . . A New Edition. Boston: Thomas and John Fleet.	
20232	1787	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . [Mycall Revision] Boston: Peter Edes for J. Boyle.	NYPL
20588	1787	John Newton, Olney Hymns in Three Books: Book I. On Select Texts of Scripture. Book II. On Occasional Subjects. Book III. On the Progress and Change of the Scriptural Life. New York:	
20858	1787	Hymns and Spiritual Songs. . . Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank	
20963	1787	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Philadelphia: Joseph Crukshank.	
21684	1789	Psalms, carefully suited . . . New Brunswick: Shelly Arnett.	
21685	1789	Watts's Psalms, carefully suited to the Christian Worship in the United States of America: Being an improvement of the Old Version of the Psalms of David. Allowed by the Reverend Synod of New York and Philadelphia, to be used in churches and private families. New York: Hodge Allen and Campbell.	

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
21686	1789	Psalms, carefully suited . . . To this edition are added the words of Sundry Anthems. Second Title: The words of Sundry Anthems. Philadelphia: W. Young.	AAS
21687	1789	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Boston: J. W. Folsom [Mycall Revision].	
22245	1789	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . The fortieth edition, corrected and accommodated . . . Boston: J. Norman.	
22352	1790	Doctor Watts's Imitation . . . The third edition. Hartford: Nathaniel Patten.	
22353	1790	Idem. New York: W. Durell (Advertised, New York Journal).	
22354	1790	Psalms, carefully suited . . . New York: Hodge, Allen and Campbell.	AAS
22734	1790	John Newton, Olney Hymns in Three Books . . . The sixth edition . . . New York: Hodge, Allen and Campbell.	AAS
23042	1790	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Philadelphia: Robert Campbell (From an advertisement).	N/e
23188	1791	Doctor Watts's Imitation . . . to which is added a collection of Hymns . . . The third edition. Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin (From an advertisement).	N/e
23189	1791	Idem. The fourth edition. Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin.	NYPL
23190	1791	Doctor Watts's Imitation of the Psalms of David . . . Also Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . New York: W. Durell.	LC

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
23191	1791	The Psalms, carefully suited . . . Elizabethtown: Shepard Kollock	LC
23192	1791	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Together with Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . With indexes and Tables complete. Boston: I. Thomas and E. T. Andrews.	NYPL
23193	1791	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . [Mycall Revision] Boston: J. W. Folsum for D. West.	AAS
23631	1791	John Newton, Olney Hymns . . . Philadelphia: William Young.	LC
24102	1792	Psalms, carefully suited . . . New York: Hodge and Campbell	NYPL
24103	1792	Idem. New York: Berry and Rogers, and John Reid.	NYPL
24104	1792	Idem. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey	BU
24105	1792	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . ... Boston: J. Burnstead.	NYPL
24106	1792	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . corrected and accommodated to the Use of the Church of Christ in America. Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs [Mycall Revision]. Newbury-Port: John Mycall.	AAS
24748	1792	John Rippon, Rippon's Hymns, being a selection of hymns, from the best authors, intended to be an appendix to Doctor Watts's Psalms and Hymns and suitable for Christians of every denomination. Elizabeth-Town: Shepard Kollock.	AAS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
24749	1792	John Rippon, A Selection of Hymns from the best authors . . . First American Edition. New York: Wm. Durell.	AAS
24990	1792	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . New York: Berry and Rogers and John Reid.	NYPL
24991	1792	Idem. New York: William Durell.	AAS
25177	1793	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Philadelphia: W. Spotswood.	AAS
25178	1793	Psalms, carefully suited . . .	NYPL
25179	1793	Idem. Philadelphia: W. Spotswood.	AAS
25180	1793	Idem. Philadelphia: W. Young	AAS
25181	1793	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. . . Exeter: Henry Ranlet.	AAS
25182	1793	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . (Hymns and Spiritual Songs included) Carlisle, Pennsylvania: Robert Bushnell.	NYPL
25183	1793	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . (From an advertisement).	N/e
25184	1793	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Norwich: Bushnell and Hubbard.	AAS
25185	1793	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Salem: Thomas C. Cushing.	AAS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
26652	1794	An imitation of the Psalms of David, carefully suited . . . Albany: Charles R. and George Webster. (From an advertisement)	N/e
26653	1794	Psalms, carefully suited . . .	AAS
26654	1794	Idem. Philadelphia: John McCulloch.	
26655	1794	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Boston: Joseph Bumstead.	AAS
26656	1794	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . (With Hymns and Spiritual Songs) Boston: John W. Folsum.	AAS
26657	1794	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Seoond Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Exeter: John Lamson.	AAS
26658	1794	Idem. Dover, New Hampshire: Eliphalet Ladd for Moses Atwood.	AAS
28036	1794	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . corrected and accommodated. Salem: T. C. Cushing.	AAS
28275	1795	Doctor Watts's Imitation of the Psalms . . . To which is added a collection of Hymns. New York: W. Durell.	BU
28276	1795	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Philadelphia: Printed for and sold by R. Campbell.	AAS
28277	1795	Idem. Philadelphia: Francis Bailey	AAS
28278	1795	Idem. Philadelphia: W. Young. (From an advertisement).	
28279	1795	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Boston: Joseph Bumstead.	AAS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
28280	1795	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . corrected and accommodated . . . Brookfield: Elisha H. Waldo (From an advertisement).	N/e
28281	1795	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Salem: T. C. Cushing.	AAS
29216	1795	John Newton, Olney Hymns . . . Burlington: Isaac Neale.	AAS
30072	1796	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Boston: Joseph Bumstead.	NYPL
30899	1796	John Newton, Letters and Sermons, with a Review of Ecclesiastical History, and Hymns. Philadelphia: William Young.	AAS
31811	1797	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Elizabeth-Town: Shepard Kollock.	AAS
31812	1797	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Wilmington: Peter Brynberg.	
32580	1797	John Newton, Letters and Sermons . . . Second Title: Olney Hymns in three books. . . Philadelphia: William Young.	AAS
33413	1798	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Boston: Joseph Bumstead.	AAS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
34964	1798	Isaac Watts, a Comprehensive Abridgement of Dr. Watts's Lyric Poems and Miscellaneous Thoughts. Together with the Hymns subjoined to his forty-four Sermons, and a few pieces from Pope, Addison, Rowe, etc. . . by Solomon Howe. In two parts. Second Title: Sublimity and Devotion united in a number of Hymns composed by Dr. Isaac Watts. Not in print with his other Hymns. Northhampton: Printed for the Editor.	NYPL
35191	1799	Psalms, carefully suited . . . Philadelphia: William Young for Robert Campbell.	AAS
35192	1799	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Boston: Joseph Bumstead.	NYPL
35193	1799	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . corrected and accommodated . . . Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs, corrected and accommodated. Brookfield: E. Merriam and Co.	NYPL
35194	1799	Idem. Brookfield: E. Merriam and Co.	NYPL
35195	1799	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Hartford: Hudson and Goodwin (From an advertisement).	N/e
35196	1799	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . together with the Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Northhampton: William Butler.	AAS
36950	1800	Dr. Watts's Imitation . . . and allowed by the Synod of New York: and New Jersey . . . New York: William Durell for Thomas S. Arden.	AAS

APPENDIX I--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
36951	1800	[Psalms-title page missing] Second Title: Hymns and Spiritual Songs. New York: William Durell.	AAS
39627	1800	Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Albany: Charles R. and George Webster.	AAS
39028	1800	Idem. New York: William Durell.	AAS
39029	1800	Idem. New York: William Durell for T. S. Arden.	AAS
39030	1800	The Psalms of David, imitated . . . Albany: C. R. and G. Webster.	AAS

A LIST OF LIBRARIES

AAS	American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.
BPL	Public Library of the City of Boston
BU	Brown University, Providence, R.I.
HC	Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.
HSP	Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia,
JCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence, R.I.
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.
LCP	Library Company of Philadelphia
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston
NHYS	New York Historical Society,
NYPL	New York Public Library
UHS	Universalist Historical Society, Philadelphia
WL	Watkinson Library, Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.

APPENDIX II

A Chronological List of American Hymnals Containing Texts from the Separatist Tradition

Evans Number*	Year	Title	Location**
10233	1766	Hymns and Spiritual Songs Collected from the Works of Several Authors. Newport: Samuel Hall.	AAS
12660	1773	Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Williamsburg: William Rind. (From an advertisement).	N/e
13507	1774	Samson,Occam, A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs intended for the Sincere Christians of All Denominations. New London: Timothy Green.	MHS
17491	1782	A Choice Collection of Hymns, in which are some never before printed. Philadelphia: n.p.	
18398	1784	A Choice Collection of Hymns, from Various authors. Adapted to Public Worship: Designed from the Edification of the Pious of all denominations; but more particularly for the Baptist Church in Philadelphia. Philadelphia: Enoch Story.	UHS

*The number assigned the edition in the Bibliography of Charles Evans is given for the purpose of identification. The number also serves as a reference to the microprint edition in the Early American Imprints series.

**The symbols represent libraries identified on page 170.

APPENDIX II--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
18667	1784	Samson Occom, A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs: Intended for the sincere Christian of all denominations. 2nd edition, New London: Timothy Green.	
19152	1785	Idem.	NYPL
19562	1786	Benjamin Cleaveland, Hymns on Different Spiritual Subjects (adapted to Baptist Worship). Norwich: John Trumbull.	N/e
21002	1788	Idem. 2nd edition.	N/e
22593	1790	Samuel Jones, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns done under the appointment of the Philadelphian Association. By Samuel Jones and Burgis Allison. Philadelphia: R. Aitken.	NYPL
23258	1791	The Christian's Duty exhibited, in a Series of Hymns: Collected from Various Authors, Designed for the Worship of God, and for the Edification of Christians, recommended by the serious of all denominations. By the Fraternity of Baptists. German-Town: Peter Leibert.	AAS
23632	1791	Thomas Nichols, Hymns and Divine Songs. "Inspected by Isaac Backus of Middleborough." Providence: Burnett Wheeler.	N/e
23768	1791	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs . . . The third edition, corrected, with an addition of thirty-two Hymns. Exeter: Henry Ranlet.	
23769	1791	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs . . . Corrected and Enlarged. Portsmouth: John Melcher.	

APPENDIX II--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
24082	1792	Anna Beeman, Hymns on Various Subjects; to Which is added a Number of Hymns from Different Authors. Norwich: John Trumbull.	BU
24195	1792	Benjamin Cleaveland, Hymns on different spiritual subjects . . . for Baptists. Norwich: John Trumbull.	
24641	1792	Samson Occam, A Choice Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs . . . Third edition with additions. New London: Timothy Green and Son.	
25304	1793	Benjamin Cleaveland and others, Hymns on different subjects . . . for Baptists. 4th ed., Norwich: John Trumbull.	
25965	1794	John Peak, A New Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs, from various authors. Some entirely new. Third Windsor Edition. Windsor: Alden Spooner.	AAS
26756	1794	Pelatiah Chapin, Evangelical Poetry: For the Purpose of Devotion, excited by Spiritual Songs; and conviction urged by Gospel Truth. Concord: George Hough.	
27710	1794	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs for the Use of Religious Assemblies and private Christians: Being a collection of Joshua Smith and others. Second Norwich Edition. Norwich: Thomas Hubbard.	AAS
28167	1795	Lucy Allen, Hymns on Various Subjects. Windsor: Alden Spooner.	

APPENDIX II--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
29529	1795	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs . . . Containing about Twenty Hymns . . . not in the former edition. Some of which are original. Second Norwich Edition. Norwich: Thomas Hubbard.	N/e
29530	1795	Idem. Being a Collection by Joshua Smith and Samuel Sleeper. A new edition, corrected and enlarged. Portsmouth: John Melcher (advertised "by the thousand, hundred, dozen or single, bound or in sheets.")	
31206	1796	Idem. The sixth edition. Revised by several gentlemen with some alterations by one of the Elders of the Baptist church. Poughkeepsie: Nathan Douglas ("The very rapid sale of Smith's Hymns has induced the editor to publish this his third edition.")	
32848	1797	Joshua Smith and Samuel Sleeper, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs. . . The seventh Exeter Edition. Exeter: Ranlet.	
32849	1797	Joshua Smith and others, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs . . . New London: From Springer's Press.	AAS
32850	1797	Joshua Smith and others, Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs . . . The eighth edition with Large Additions and Alterations. By William Northrup, V.D.M. Norwich: John Sterry.	AAS
33802	1798	Josiah Goddard, A New and Beautiful Collection of Hymns and Spiritual Songs. Selected from all authors that are entertaining, spiritual, and divine; for the use of churches, religious societies and Christian conferences; and in particular for the comfort and edification of Private Christians, for which it is mostly designed. Conway: Theodore Leonard.	AAS

APPENDIX II--Continued

Evans Number	Year	Title	Location
33939	1798	Samuel Jones, A Selection of Psalms and Hymns. Philadelphia: n.p.	
36319	1799	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs . . . The ninth edition with a large addition of Hymns never before published. By William Northrup, V.D.M. Norwich: John Sterry.	AAS
36320	1799	Idem. Latest and largest edition. Portsmouth: n.p.	HC
36382	1799	Nathan Strong, Abel Flint, and Joseph Steward, The Hartford Collection, from the most approved authors. To which are added a number never before published. Hartford: John Babcock.	
38520	1800	Joshua Smith and others, Divine Hymns or Spiritual Songs. The seventh edition, revised. Elizabeth-Town: J. Woods for John Tiebolt, No. 246 Water Street, New York.	AAS
38521	1800	Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs. Norwich: John Trumbull.	WL
38522	1800	Idem. New London: James Springer.	LC
38523	1800	Idem. New London: James Springer.	NYHS

APPENDIX III

A List of Tunes Used in an Analysis of the Music of the Moderate Evangelicals

a. Tunes of Native American Composers

Title	Composer	Source
ALPHA	Holden	C H 34*
MONTICELLO	Read	C H 47
BARNEY	Read	C H 54
BROOKFIELD	Billings	C H 57
AMANDA	Morgan	C H 69
FRIENDSHIP	Read	C H 86
AFRICA	Billings	W 111
GOLGOTHA	Billings	N E H 122
NEWPORT	Read	N E H 11
CONCORD	Belknap	N E H 13
MESSIAH	French	N E H 15
WINDHAM	Read	N E H 17
PARIS	Billings	N E H 22
PARADISE	Holden	N E H 23
VIRGINIA	Brownson	N E H 38
CHINA	Swan	N E H 48
MORTALITY	Read	N E H 57
WRENTHAM	Billings	N E H 55

APPENDIX IIIa--Continued

Title	Composer	Source
JUDGMENT	Read	N E H 62
REFLECTION	Billings	N E H 63
FAIRLEE	Holden	N E H 68
AMHERST	Billings	N E H 77
PILGRIM'S FAREWELL	French	N E H 87
ST. JOHN'S	Billings	W 100
MENDOM	Billings	W 106
VERMONT	Billings	W 19

*C H--Daniel Read, The Columbian Harmonist (2nd ed., Dedham, Mass.: H. Mann, 1804).

N E H--Joel Read, The New England Selection (2nd ed., Boston: Manning and Loring, 1812).

W--John Wyeth, Repository of Sacred Music: Part Second (facsimile ed., New York: Da Capo Press, 1964).

APPENDIX III

b. Tunes of European Origin From Andrew Law's

Select Number

Tune Name	Page
BANGOR	1
BATH	1
WANTAGE	1
RICKMANSWORTH	2
PUTNEY	2
ANGEL'S HYMN	2
DOXOLOGY	2
ST. ANNE'S	3
MEAR	3
PARINDON	3
FUNERAL THOUGHTS	3
AYNHOE	4
ELSTON	4
RUGBY	5
NORTHAMPTON	5
WELLINGBOROUGH	5
DALSTON	6
ST. HELLEN'S	6
BLENDON	7

APPENDIX IIIb--Continued

Tune Name	Page
THIRTY-SECOND PSALM	7
TWENTY-SECOND PSALM	7
WALLINGFORD	7
NEWCASTLE	12
TURKEY HILLS	13

APPENDIX III

c. Tunes From Jonathan Benjamin's

Harmonia Coelestis

Tune Name	Page
MARTIN'S LANE	9
COLNBROOK	10
WILTSHIRE	11
BERKLEY	12
MILFORD	12
HARBOROUGH	13
BROOMLEY	14
LAMBETH	15
DARNWELLS	16
PHILADELPHIA	17
KNIGHTSBRIDGE	18
SKIPTON	19
FULHAM	20
SOUTHBOROUGH	21
GEORGIA	22
KIMBOLTON	24

APPENDIX IIIc--Continued

Tune Name	Page
PENSANCE	25
INGATESTONE	27
SOUTHAMPTON	28
CHAPEL	30
HOTHAM	31
SOMERSET	32
NEWTON	33
STEPNEY	34

APPENDIX IV

A List of Tunes Used in an Analysis of the Music in the Separatist Tradition

a. Tunes From Jeremiah Ingalls' Christian Harmony

Tune Name	Page
BEGONE UNBELIEF	51
CANAAN	121
CHANNEL OF MERCY	126
CONSOLATION	108
CONVICTION	33
CREATION	167
ENDLESS DAY	17
FRIENDSHIP	98
GOLDEN STREETS	80
GOSPEL POOL	121
GREAT PHYSICIAN	88
HALLELUJAH HYMN	42
HAPPY CHOICE	103
HEAD OF THE CHURCH	101
HEAVENLY COURTIER	155
HOPE	40

APPENDIX IVa--Continued

Tune Name	Page
HUMILITY	87
IMPARTIAL SONG	35
INVITATION	18
JERICO	111
JOY	48
LOVELY VINE	9
MELODIOUS SONNET	23
MY DOVE	118
NEWFOUND HILLS	68
PARTING BLESSING	76
PILGRIM'S SONG	43
REJOICE IN THY YOUTH	94
RICH PROVISION	61
SALEM	102
SINNER'S WARNING	106
SLOW TRAVELER	63
SOLDIER OF THE CROSS	65
SONG OF MOSES	116
ST. CLEMENTS	106
SWIFTNESS OF TIME	83
TEDIOUS HOUR	14
THE APPLETREE	81

APPENDIX IVa--Continued

Tune Name	Page
THINK AND SING	103
TRANQUILITY	72
TRIBUNAL	91
VERONA	112
WALSOL	130
WANDERING PILGRIM	45
WEEPING MARY	73

APPENDIX IV

b. Tunes From John Wyeth's

Repository of Sacred Music:
Part Second

Tune Name	Page
FIDUCIA	20
TWENTY FOURTH	20
CONSOLATION I	20
VERNON	21
NINETY THIRD	24
MILLVILLE	39
FORSTER	40
GLASGOW	42
KEDRON	43
ROADSTOWN	45
MIDDLE PAXTON	57
LANDAFF	71
SOLITUDE	76
CHRISTMAS HYMN	79
REDEEMING GRACE	79
DAVIS	81

APPENDIX IVb--Continued

Tune Name	page
SPRING HILL	94
ROCKBRIDGE	95
UNITIA	97
ROCKINGHAM	97
HAPPINESS	98
POWER	100
WILLINGTON	100
SUBLIMITY	101
ADORATION	101
NEW CANAAN	101
MORALITY	103
COMMUNION	103
RESTORATION	104
NEW MONMOUTH	104
PERSERVERANCE	104
CONSOLATION II	105
TRANSPORT	106
STERLING	107
ANIMATION	108
MESSIAH	109
SOLICITUDE	109
HALLELUJAH	112

APPENDIX IVb--Continued

Tune Name	Page
CONCERT	113
HEAVENLY UNION	121

APPENDIX V

A List of Texts From Joshua Smith's

Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs

Adam our father and our head (5071)*
Ah, give me Lord my sins to mourn (38521)
Ah Lord, ah Lord what have I done (36319)
Ah Lord, what have I done (5069)
Ah Lord, with trembling I confess (38521)
Ah me, I'm never well but when (36319)
Ah me, my heart the seat of war (36319)
Ah woe is me constrained to dwell (5069)
Ah wretched souls who strive in vain (5071)
Alas, and did my savior bleed (36319)
Alas, for I have seen the Lord (27710)
All flesh is grass, the prophet cried (36319)
All hail the power of Jesus' name (36319)
Almighty love inspire (36319)
Am I a soldier of the cross (5069)
And are we wretches yet alive (36319)
Approach, my soul, the mercy seat (38521)
Arise my dear love, my undefiled dove (32850)
Arise my soul with wonder see (36319)
As lambs among wolves (5071)
As shepherds in Jewry (36319)
As when a child secure of harms (36319)
Ashamed of Christ my soul disdains (5071)
Ashamed of Jesus that dear friend (5071)
Awake, arise O saints, and view (36319)
Awake my soul in joyful lays (5069)
Awake my soul stretch every nerve (5071)
Before thy throne eternal king (36319)
Begin the high celestial strain (36319)
Begone unbelief (36319)
Behold a lovely vine (36319)
Behold him streaming from the north (27710)
Blessed be God for all (36319)
Blessed be my God that I was born (36319)
Blessed door of bliss to weary saints (36319)
Blow ye the trumpet blow (36319)
Brethren farewell I do you tell (27710)

APPENDIX V--Continued

Brethren, I bid you all farewell (27710)
Cheer up, my brethren and rejoice (36319)
Children of the heav'nly king (36319)
Christ in that night he was betrayed (36319)
Christ our Lord is risen today (27710)
Christians, if your hearts be warm (27710)
Come, all my young companions, come (5071)
Come, all who've spent your blooming days (27710)
Come, all ye saints and sinners, near (36319)
Come all ye weary travellers (36319)
Come and taste along with me (36319)
Come away to the skies (5069)
Come brethren and sisters that love my dear Lord (36319)
Come, brethren, let's sing of Jesus our king (36319)
Come, brethren, let us all unite (36319)
Come, brethren, let us join and sing (36319)
Come, fellow sinners, now awake (36319) (36319)
Come, friends and relations, let us join heart and hand
Come holy spirit, heavenly dove (36319)
Come, humble sinner, in whose breast (5069)
Come, let me love or is my mind (36319)
Come, Lord, and warm each languid heart (36319)
Come, my dear brethren in the Lord (27710)
Come now, poor sinners, share apart (27710)
Come, sinners, now approach your God (36319)
Come, sinners, to the gospel feast (36319)
Come thou fount of ev'ry blessing (36319)
Come to the glorious gospel feast (36319)
Come, we that love the Lord indeed (36319)
Come, ye redeemed of the Lord (27710)
Come, ye sinners poor and wretched (36319)
Come, you that Christmas Day admire (36319)
Companions of thy little flock (36319)
Courage, my soul (38521)
Dear brethren, you are mighty strong (36319)
Dear Christian friends, come we will go (27710)
Dear Lord, and will thy pard'ning love (36319)
Dear refuge of my weary soul (36319)
Dearest Jesus, though unseen (38521)
Death 'tis a melancholy day (36319)
Deluded souls who think to find (5069)
Did Christ o'er sinners weep (36319)
Didst thou, dear Jesus, suffer shame (36319)
Diffuse thy beams and teach my heart (36319)
Dismiss us with thy blessing, Lord (27710)
Does it not grief and wonder move (36319)
Draw near, ye brothers, hear me tell (32850)
Dress'd uniform Christ's soldiers are (27710)
Emerging from a world of woe (5071)

APPENDIX V--Continued

Encouraged by the word (36319)
Enlisted in the cause of sin (38521)
Eternal beam of light divine (38521)
Eternal love that darling song (36319)
Eternal power whose high abode (5069)
Eternal sire enthroned above (5069)
Eternal truth affirms (5069)
Far from my soul O sleep retire (5069)
Farewell, dear friends in Christ below (5069)
Farewell, my brethren in the Lord (36319)
Farewell vain world, I bid adieu (36319)
Farewell vain world, I must be gone (36319)
Father, how wide thy glories shine (38521)
Father of mercies in thy word (36319)
Father of peace and God of love (38521)
From whence doth this union arise (36319)
Give me the wings of faith to rise (5069)
Glorious angels do rejoice (36319)
Go, my heralds, blow the trumpet (36319)
Go on ye pilgrims, while below (36319)
God in the gospel of his son (36319)
God's power and wisdom is displayed (36319)
Great God, I would not ask to see (38521)
Great God of providence, thy ways (5071)
Great God, my maker and my king (5071)
Great God, we in thy courts appear (5071)
Great God whose universal sway (38521)
Great high priest, we view thee stooping (36319)
Hail, happy pilgrims, whence came ye (36319)
Hail, happy saint, so soon to reach the shore (5069)
Hail sovereign love that first began (36319)
Hail the day that sees him rise (36319)
Hail the new year that's just begun (36319)
Happy the man whose will is bowed (36319)
Hark, careless youth, and hear me tell (32850)
Hark, hear the sound on earth is found (36319)
Hark how the gospel trumpet sounds (36319)
Hark, my gay friends, that solemn toll (38521)
Hark, my gay friends, the monster death (36319)
He dies, the heav'nly lover dies (36319)
Hear now, ye rebels, saith the Lord (36319)
Heav'nly thoughts create my song (36319)
How are thy servants blest, O Lord (36319)
How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord (36319)
How free and boundless is the grace (36319)
How happy are they who the Savior obey (36319)
Holy and reverend is the name (5071)
How lost was my condition (5069)
How meanly dwells the mortal mind (5069)

APPENDIX V--Continued

How strange is the course that a Christian must steer (36319)
How sweet, how charming is the place (36319)
How sweet the name of Jesus sounds (38521)
How tedious and tasteless the hours (36319)
How vain are the pleasures of time (27710)
I am that I am (36319)
I asked the Lord that I might grow (5071)
I bless the Lord (36319)
I hear the gospel's joyful sound (36319)
I mourn, dear Lord, when I come round (5071)
I set myself against the Lord (36319)
I sing my savior's wondrous death (38521)
I sojourn in a vale of tears (36319)
I want with all my heart (38521)
I would, but cannot sing (5071)
In the Lord's word left on record (27710)
Innumerable foes (36319)
It is a glorious mystery (5071)
Jerusalem, my happy home (36319)
Jesus, and shall it ever be (36319)
Jesus demands my love supreme (5069)
Jesus drinks the bitter cup (36319)
Jesus, I flee to thee (36319)
Jesus I trust and go I must (27710)
Jesus, lover of my soul (36319)
Jesus my pasture shall prepare (36319)
Jesus once for sinners slain (27710)
Jesus shall reign where the sun (38521)
Jesus the eternal son of God (36319)
Jesus, thy blessings are not few (36319)
Jesus, thy boundless love to me (38521)
Jesus, thy gospel I embrace (36319)
Jesus, the eternal son of God (5069)
Let Christ the glorious lover (27710)
Let heaven and earth rejoice (27710)
Let Sion with her sons and daughters mourn (32850)
Let strife forever cease (36319)
Lo, we are journeying home to God (36319)
Lord, and am I still alive (5069)
Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing (27710)
Lord, from thy throne of flowing grace (36319)
Lord, hear a burdened sinner mourn (36319)
Lord, how divine thy comforts art (5069)
Lord, I cannot let thee go (5071)
Lord, in the morning I will send (36319)
Lord, thou hast been thy children's God (36319)
Lord, 'tis an infinite delight (36319)
Lord, when shall we mount up to thee (27710)
Lord, when together here we meet (36319)

APPENDIX V--Continued

Lord, whither shall I flee (36319)
Luke-warm souls, the foe grows stronger (36319)
Me thinks I hear my savior call (36319)
Mercy, O thou son of David (36319)
Mine ears delighted with the sound (36319)
Mortals awake, with angels join (36319)
Mount Zion is my home (5071)
My brethren, all remember well (27710)
My captain sounds the alarm of the war (5071)
My children dear, you now appear (27710)
My days, my weeks, my months, my years (36319)
My God above with smiles of love (27710)
My God, how perfect are thy ways (36319)
My God, my heart with love enflame (5071)
My God, the covenant of thy love (36319)
My God, the spring of all my joys (36319)
My heart is there, I've no elsewhere (27710)
My song shall bless the Lord of all (36319)
My soul doth magnify the Lord (36319)
My soul inspired with sacred love (38521)
My soul, why weepest thou (36319)
My thoughts that often mount the skies (5071)
No pen can write that sweet delight (27710)
Now I have found the ground wherein (27710)
Now in a song of grateful praise (36319)
Now is the time, O lovely youth (36319)
Now let us join with hearts and tongues (36319)
Now, Lord, tho we must part awhile (36319)
Now the savior stands a-pleading (5069)
Now the shades of night are gone (27710)
Now while we do begin to sing (36319)
Now who are they that dare to say (36319)
O Christ, O love divine (38522)
O could I find from day to day (36319)
O for a glance of heavenly day (36319)
O for a sweet inspiring ray (36319)
O glorious hope of perfect love (5071)
O happy souls how fast you go (36319)
O how a thing and grevious (38521)
O if my Lord would come and meet (38521)
O now begin some heavenly theme (36319)
O that my load of sin were gone (36319)
O the delights, the heavenly joys (36319)
O what a cruel wretch am I (36319)
O what a glorious mystery (36319)
O why art thou cast down, my soul (36319)
Oft as the bell with solemn toll (38521)
Oft have I sat in secret sighs (5069)
Omnipotent Lord, my savior and king (27710)

APPENDIX V--Continued

Our souls rejoice to hear the sound (36319)
Prayer was appointed to convey (36319)
Rise thee my soul, fly up and run (36319)
Rise, Zion, shine, thy light is come (5069)
Savior, I do feel thy merit (27710)
Savior, visit thy plantation (36319)
See Aaron, God's annointed priest (38521)
See how the nations rage together (38521)
See what a wretched state (36319)
Should bounteous nature kindly pour (5069)
Sin is the fatal cause of woe (36319)
Since God has let us live to see (36319)
Since Jesus freely did appear (5069)
Sing to the Lord, ye heavenly hosts (38521)
Sinners, obey the gospel word (27710)
So foolish, so absurd am I (36319)
Still out of the deepest abyss (36319)
Sure God will say, my children, stay (27710)
Sweet was the time when first I felt (38521)
Ten thousand talents once I owed (36319)
That awful day will surely come (36319)
That heart is harder than a stone (36319)
That name to me sounds ever sweet (36319)
The day is past and gone (36319)
The God of grace to human race (36319)
The great redeemer gave command (36319)
The great redeemer we adore (5069)
The great tremendous days approaching (36319)
The Lord our salvation and light (36319)
The man that views his guilt and sin (32850)
The name of Christ how sweet it sounds (36319)
The Savior meets his flock today (27710)
The spacious firmament on high (36319)
The table spread my soul there spies (36319)
The Tree of Life my soul has seen (27710)
The voice of free grace cries escape to the mountains (5069)
The worth of truth no tongue can tell (36319)
Thee will I love, my Lord, my tower (27710)
There's a land of pure delight (38521)
Thine earthly sabbaths, Lord, we love (36319)
This God is the God we adore (27710)
Thou sovereign king of kings (36319)
Though troubles assail and dangers affright (36319)
Through all this world below (27710)
Through our savior's life we trace (36319)
Thus saith the Lord, your master dear (36319)
Thus the Redeemer kindly saith (36319)
Time like an overflowing stream (36319)
'Tis a point I long to know (36319)

APPENDIX V--Continued

'Tis finished, so the Savior cried (5069)
Today Immanuel feeds his sheep (36319)
'Twas on that dark, that doleful night (36319)
Wand'ring Pilgrims, mourning Christians (36319)
We found the rock, the travellers cried (38521)
We in this tabernacle mourn (36319)
Weary of struggling with my pain (27710)
Well met, dear friends in Jesus' name (36319)
What hath the world to equal this (38521)
What poor despised company (36319)
What shall the dying sinner do (36319)
What think you, my friend, of the preaching of John (27710)
What various hindrances we meet (36319)
When Abram's servant to procure (36319)
When Christ shall rend from end to end (27710)
When converts first began to sing (36319)
When death appears before my sight (36319)
When fierce Tiberius Rome's vast empire swayed (32850)
When first the God of boundless grace (5069)
When God on high shall magnify (27710)
When I can read my title clear (36319)
When I in darkness, destitute (27710)
When John though a man baptizing began (36319)
When Joseph his brethren beheld (5069)
When pity prompts me look around (36319)
When we shall fly above the sky (27710)
When thou my righteous judge shall come (5069)
Wherewith O Lord shall I draw near (5069)
While I am blest with youthful bloom (36319)
Why do we mourn departing friends (38521)
Why should a living man complain (36319)
Why should the nations angry be (36319)
Ye humble souls approach your God (36319)
Ye sons of earth prepare the plough (38521)
Ye worlds of light that roll so near (36319)
Yonder amazing sight I see (36319)
You saints of light that shine so bright (27710)
Young ladies all, I pray draw near (36319)

*The Evans number used in this appendix indicates one of the editions of Smith in which the text appeared. Full bibliographical information on these editions is given in Appendix II with two exceptions:

5069 --Joshua Smith, Divine Hymns, or Spiritual Songs . . . for the Use of Religious Assemblies. . . . Norwich: Sterry and Porter, 1803. AAS

5071 --Idem. The sixth edition. . . greatly improved Troy, New York: Moffitt & Lyon, 1803. AAS

APPENDIX VI

A List of Texts From Samuel Jones'

A Selection of Psalms and Hymns

A form of words though e'er so sound
Ah! lovely appearance of Death
Ah! what can I do
Alas, and did my Savior bleed
Alas, what hourly dangers rise
All-gracious God, thy people bless
All ye that pass by
Almighty God of truth and love
Am I a soldier of the cross
And is it yet, dear Lord, a doubt
And must this body die
And now, my soul, another year
And will the Lord thus condescend
Another six-days' work is done
Arise, my soul, my joyful powers
Arise, O King of grace, arise
Assist us, Lord, thy name to praise
Awake and sing the song
Awake my soul, and with the sun
Awake my soul in joyful lays
Awake my soul, awake mine eyes
Awake our drowsy souls
Awake, sweet gratitude, and sing
Awake, ye saints, and lift your eyes
Before Jehovah's awful throne
Before thy throne, eternal King
Behold the morning sun
Beset with snares on every hand
Be with me Lord, where'er I go
Bless, oh my soul, the living God
Blest are the souls, that hear and know
Blest is the man, who shuns the place
Blest is the man, forever blest
Blow ye the trumpet, blow
Bless, oh my soul the living God
Brethren, let us join to bless
Broad is the way that leads to death
Children of the Heavenly King
Christ and his cross is all our theme
Christians in your several stations

APPENDIX VI--Continued

Come all harmonious tongues
Come, dearest Lord, descend and dwell
Come, descend, oh heavenly Spirit
Come gracious Spirit, heavenly dove
Come, holy Spirit, come
Come holy Spirit heavenly dove
Come hither all ye weary souls
Come humble sinners, in whose breasts
Come in ye blessed of your God
Come, let us join our chearful songs
Come Lord, and warm our languid heart
Come, oh my soul, and sing
Come sinners, saith the mighty God
Come sound his praise abroad
Come thou Almighty King
Come thou fount of every blessing
Come we that love the Lord
Come weary souls, with sin distressed
Come ye sinners, come to Jesus
Come ye sinners, poor and wretched
Curst be the man, forever curst
Dear Jesus here comes
Death as a sleep or gentle dose
Dismiss us with thy blessing, Lord
Does it not grief and wonder move
Do we not know that solemn word
Dread Sovereign, let my evening song
Dress uniform the soldier wears
Earth has detained me pris'ner long
Encouraged by thy word
Ere I sleep for ev'ry favour
Eternal power, whose high abode
Eternal source of joys divine
Eternal wisdom, thee we praise
Far from my thoughts vain world be gone
Father, before we hence depart
Father, I sing thy wond'rous grace
Father, I stretch my hands to thee
Father, (if thou my Father art)
Father of mercies, bow thine ear
Father of mercies, in thy word
Father, we wait to feel thy grace
Frequent the day of God returns
From thee, my God, my joys shall rise
Give thanks to God most High
Give to our God immortal praise
Glory be to God on high

APPENDIX VI--Continued

Glory to God, who gave the word
Glory to thee, my God, this night
Go, preach my gospel, saith the Lord
God moves in a mysterious way
God of all consolation take
God of my salvation, hear
Gracious Lord, incline thine ear
Grace! tis a charming sound
Great former of this various frame
Freat Father of mankind
Great God indulge my humble claim
Great God of wonders, all thy ways
Great God, the Heavens well-order'd frame
Great Ruler of earth and skies
Great was the day, the joy was great
Hail, Alpha and Omega, hail
Hail, thou once-despised Jesus
Hark, from the tombs a doleful sound
Hark! my soul, it is the Lord
Hark! the voice of love and mercy
He comes he comes, the Judge severe
He dies, the heavenly lover dies
He is a God of sovereign love
Hear me O Redeemer, hear
Here at thy table, Lord, we wait
High in the heavens, eternal God
Hosanna to Jesus on high
Hosanna to the Prince of Light
Hosanna with a chearful sound
How are thy glories here displayed
How beautious [sic]are their feet
How condescending and how kind
How firm a foundation the saints of the Lord
How happy is the Christian state
How pleased and blest was I
How oft have sin and Satan strove
How sad our state by nature is
How short and hasty is our life
I long to behold him aray'd
I love thy charming name
I'll praise my Maker with my breath
I'm tired of visits, modes, and forms
In a world of sin and sorrow
In sweet exalted strains
In such a grave as this
Israel in ancient days
In vain Apollo's silver tongue

APPENDIX VI--Continued

Is this the kind return
Jesus, and shall it ever be
Jesus, friend of sinners, hear
Jesus, let thy pitying eye
Jesus mighty King in Zion
Jesus my All to heav'n is gone
Jesus, O Word divinely sweet
Jesus, Redeemer, Savior, Lord
Jesus, the eternal Son of God
Jesus, we bow before thy feet
Kingdom of God not in word, but in power
Kind is the speech of Christ our Lord
Lamb of God, we fall before thee
Let all our tongues be one
Let all the earth their voices raise
Let ev'ry mortal ear attend
Let them neglect thy glory Lord
Let thy devoted servant go
Let us love, and sing, and
Light of those, whose dreary dwelling
Long did my soul in Jesus' form
Long have I sat beneath the sound
Lo he comes in clouds descending
Lo, he cometh countless trumpets
Lo the Almighty King of glory
Lord at thy table I behold
Lord bless thy saints assembled here
Lord hast thou suffer'd me to see
Lord how divine our comforts are
Lord how mysterious are thy ways
Lord how shall wretched sinners dare
Lord in the morning thou shalt hear
Lord dismiss us with thy blessing
Lord I am vile conceiv'd in sin
Lord I would spread my sore distress
Lord Jesus, when, when shall it be
Lord look on all assembled here
Lord thou wilt hear me when I pray
Lord we come before thee now
Lord what a feeble piece
Lord what a wretched land is this
Lord when I read the traytor's doom
Lord when our raptured thoughts survey
Lord when thou didst ascend on high
Loud let the tuneful trumpet sound

APPENDIX VI--Continued

Mine eyes and my desire
Most righteous God my doom I bear
Mistaken souls that dream of heaven
My drowsy powers why sleep ye so
My God, how endless is thy love
My God in whom are all the springs
My God, my God, and must I die
My God, my life, my love
My God, my King, thy various praise
My God, my portion, and my love
My Lord, how great's the favour
My Savior, my Almighty friend
My Savior's pierced side
My soul come meditate the day
My soul how lovely is the place
Naked as from the earth we came
Not all the blood of beasts
Not all the nobles of the earth
Not unto us but thee alone
Now begin the Heavenly theme
Now from the altar of our hearts
Now from the roaring lion's rage
Now in the heat of youthful blood
Now keep me steadfast dearest Lord
Now let our voices join
Now Lord another of thy days
Now Lord the heavenly seed is sown
Now Lord thy blessing add
Now may the God of peace and love
Now may the Spirit holy fire
Now to the Lord a noble song
Now Christ again to me appears
O Come let us join
O dearest Lord, give me an heart
Of all the joys we mortals know
O! for a glance of heav'nly day
O for a heart to love my God
O for a thousand tongues to sing
O my soul was formed for woe
Oft as the bell with solemn toll
Oft I reflect upon thy grace
Oft I seek my God by night
O Jesus, our Lord
O Jesu, Jesu, dearest Lord
O Lord, our Lord, how wond'rous great
Once more before we part

APPENDIX VI--Continued

Once more my soul the rising day
Once more we come before our God
Oh that my load of sin were gone
Oh that the Lord would guide my ways
Oh thou whose tender mercies hears
Oh what shall I do to retrieve
Our Savior alone
Out of the deeps of long distress
Pleased we read in sacred story
Praise to the Lord who bows his ear
Precious bible what a treasure
Press'd my soul with future prospect
Rejoice, the Lord is King
Remember, Lord, our mortal state
Rich grace, free grace, most sweetly calls
Repent and be baptized
Rise my soul adore thy Maker
Rise my soul and stretch thy wings
Salvation is forever nigh
Salvation to our God
Savior I do feel thy merit
Savior, visit thy plantation
See, gracious God, before thy throne
See how the mounting sun
See how the willing converts trace
Sinners obey the gospel word
Show pity, Lord, O Lord, forgive
Sleep, downy sleep, come close mine eyes
So let our lips and lives express
Soon as I hear'd my Father say
Sprinkled with reconciling Blood
Stay, thou insulted Spirit, stay
Stretched on the cross the Savior dies
Sweet is the mem'ry of thy grace
That doleful night before his death
The church a garden is
Thee we adore eternal Name
The God Jehovah reigns
The God of Abraham praise
The Great Redeemer we adore
The God of glory sends his summons forth
The heavens declare thy glory Lord
The King of saints, how fair his face
The Lord descending from above
The Lord how fearful is his name
The Lord how glorious is his face
The Lord my shepherd and my guide
The Lord of earth and sky

APPENDIX VI--Continued

The praise of Zion waits for Thee
The presence of thy grace impart
The Savior calls, let every ear
The sinner that by precious faith
The souls that would to Jesus press
The spacious firmament on high
There is a land of pure delight
This specious earth is all the Lord's [sic]
Though troubles assail and dangers affright
Thou art, O God, a spirit pure
Thou God of glorious majesty
Thou only source of true delight
Thy presence, Savior, may I feel
Tis a point I long to know
Tis false, thou vile accuser, go
Tis finished, the Redeemer said
Thus was the great Redeemer purged
Thus saith the wisdom of the Lord
Today God bids the faithful rest
To praise the ever-bounteous Lord
To our Redeemer's glorious name
To thee, my God, I hourly sigh
To thee who reign'st supreme above
To thine almighty arm we owe
Twas the commission of our Lord
Upward I lift mine eyes
Vain are the hopes the sons of men
Vain man, thy fond pursuits forbear
We are a garden walled around
We needs must die who banished lie
We sing to thee whose wisdom formed
Well met dear friends in Jesus' name
Welcome sweet day of rest
Welcome thou well-beloved of God
What different powers of grace and sin
What good news the angels bring
What heavenly man, or lovely God
What scenes of horror and death
What shall I render to my God
What think ye of Christ is the test
What various hindrances we meet
What wisdom, majesty, and grace
When all thy mercies, O my God
When Abraham full of sacred awe
When God revealed his gracious name
When, gracious Lord, when shall it be
When I can read my title clear

APPENDIX VI--Continued

When I survey the wondrous cross
When Joseph his brethren beheld
When, O dear Jesus, when shall I
When the fierce north wind
When my mind divinely pressed
While o'er our guilty land, O Lord
While with ceaseless course the sun
Who hath our report believed
Why would the nations join to slay
Why do we mourn departed friends
Why is my heart so far from thee
Why, O my heart, these anxious cares
Why should our mourning thoughts delight
Why should we start and fear to die
With all my powers of heart and tongue
With all thy power, O Lord descend
With chearful voice I sing
With joy we meditate the grace
With heart and lips unfeigned
With rev'rence let the saints draw near
When blooming youth is snatched away
Ye nations round the earth rejoice
Ye servants of God
Ye souls that are weak
Ye trembling souls dismiss your fears
Ye tribes of Adam join
Yonder, amazing sight I see

APPENDIX VII

A List of Texts From Josiah Goddard's

A New and Beautiful Collection

Adam our Father and our head (33802)*
Afflicted saint to Christ draw near (33802)
Ah, where am I now (33802)
Ah, lovely appearance of death (33802)
Alas, and did my Savior bleed (33802)
Almighty God, Jehovah thou (33802)
All hail the power of Jesus' name (33802)
Alas, alas, why is it so (33802)
All you that love the Lord draw near (33802)
Amazing sight, the Savior stands (33802)
Amazing grace, how sweet the sound (33802)
Am I a soldier of the cross (33802)
Another day of life is gone (33802)
And am I born to die (33802)
And are we wretches yet alive (33802)
Arise, my dear love, my undefiled dove (33802)
Arise, my tend'rest thoughts arise (33802)
As on the cross the Savior hung (33802)
As shepherds in Jewry (33802)
Ashamed of Christ, my soul disdain (33802)
As once for Jonah, so the Lord (33802)
Awake, ye sleeping souls, awake (33802)
Awake, all ye saints, and sing (33802)
Awake, ye saints of God (33802)
Awake, my soul, in joyful lays (33802)
Awake, and sing the song (33802)
Awake, ye saints, and lift your eyes (33802)
Away, my unbelieving fear (33802)
Awake, O guilty world, awake (575)*
Ah Lord! Ah Lord! what have I done (575)
Ah me! I'm never well kept when (575)
As lambs among the wolves (575)
Behold the man, three-score and ten (33802)
Behold decrepid, aged man (33802)
Behold the Savior of mankind (33802)
Behold with awful pomp (33802)
Beside the gospel pool (33802)
Before Jehovah's awful throne (33802)
Begone, unbelief (33802)
Blow ye the trumpet, blow (33802)
Blessed be God for all (33802)
Bless the Lord, my soul, and raise (33802)
Bless all the humble souls (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

Bless us this day, O Lord our God (33802)
By whom was David taught (33802)
Broad is the road that leads to death (33802)
Brethren, I have come again (33802)
Blessed are the humble souls that see (575)
Brethren, I bid you all farewell (575)
Blessed be my God that I was born (575)
Christ our Lord is risen today (33802)
Children to the Creator God (33802)
Children of the heav'nly King (33802)
Christians, if your hearts be warm (33802)
Cursed be the man, forever cursed (33802)
Come, needy sinners, hear me tell (33802)
Come, sinners, to the gospel feast (33802)
Come, trembling souls, forget your fears (33802)
Come, ye sinners, poor and needy (33802)
Come, my soul, thy suit prepare (33802)
Come, thou fount of every blessing (33802)
Come see on bloody Calvary (33802)
Come let me love, or is my mind (33802)
Come and let us sweetly sing (33802)
Come every pious heart (33802)
Come let us join our cheerful songs (33802)
Come ye that love the Lord indeed (33802)
Come, we that love the Lord (33802)
Come, humble sinner, in whose breast (33802)
Come, brethren and sisters that love (33802)
Come, thou blessed Jesus, fill my heart (33802)
Come all ye weary travellers (33802)
Come, my Father's family (33802)
Come, all ye saints and sinners near (33802)
Come, all ye chosen saints of God (33802)
Come, all my partners in distress (33802)
Come, friends and relations (33802)
Come, lead me to some lofty shade (33802)
Come, all ye mourning pilgrims round (33802)
Come, sound his praise abroad (33802)
Come, all that to Canaan are bound (33802)
Come, pilgrims, lift your joyful strains (33802)
Constrained by their Lord to embark (33802)
Crimson drops run down a streaming (33802)
Come, all ye poor sinners that from (575)
Come, all ye dear souls that are of (575)
Come and taste along with me (575)
Come to the glorious gospel feast (575)
Dear refuge of my weary soul (33802)
Dear happy souls who have begun (33802)
Dear Shepherd of thy people, hear (33802)
Dead be my heart to all below (33802)
Didst thou, dear Jesus, suffer shame (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

Do I not love thee, O my Lord (33802)
Destruction's dangerous road (33802)
Draw near, my friends, rejoice (575)
Dear Lord, and will thy pard'ning love (575)
Elijah's example declares (33802)
Encouraged by thy word (33802)
Enquire, ye pilgrims, for the way (33802)
Ever fainting with desire (33802)
Emerging from a world of woe (575)
Father, whate'er of earthly bliss (33802)
Farewell, my brethren in the Lord (33802)
Farewell, vain world, I bid adieu (33802)
Fellow pilgrims, let us join (33802)
From whence does this union arise (33802)
From all that dwell below the skies (33802)
Farewell, vain world, I must be gone (575)
Gird thy loins up, Christian soldier (33802)
Glad tidings to the world is come (33802)
Glory be to God on high (33802)
Glory to thee, my God, this night (33802)
God of my salvation, hear (33802)
God, my supporter and my hope (33802)
God moves in a mysterious way (33802)
Go teach the nations and baptize (33802)
Great High Priest, we view thee stooping (33802)
Gracious Lord, incline thine ear (33802)
Grace, 'tis a charming sound (33802)
Great God, attend while Zion sings (33802)
Go on, ye pilgrims here below (575)
Great God, we in thy courts appear (575)
Hark, hear the sound on earth is found (33802)
Hark, how the gospel trumpet sounds (33802)
Hark, whence the sounds, hark (33802)
Hark, all ye sons of Adam, hear (33802)
Hark, the voice of love and mercy (33802)
Hark, 'tis our heav'ly leader's voice (33802)
Hard Heart of mine, oh that the Lord (33802)
Hail the day that saw him rise (33802)
Hail, sovereign love that first began (33802)
Have I been blessed with grace divine (33802)
Happy the man who finds the grace (33802)
He dies, the heavenly lover dies (33802)
Heavenly views created my song (33802)
Here stands a barren tree (33802)
He comes, he comes, the judge severe (33802)
How long, O Lord, shall I complain (33802)
How condescending and how kind (33802)
How sweet and awful is the place (33802)
How firm a foundation, ye saints of the Lord (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

How tedious and tasteless the hour (33802)
How meanly dwells the immortal mind (33802)
How lost was my condition (33802)
How happy are they (33802)
How arduous is the preacher's fight (33802)
How are thy servants blessed, Oh Lord (33802)
How happy am I in the grove (33802)
How sweet my minutes roll (33802)
How charming is the place (33802)
How short and hasty are our lives (33802)
How can a soul so senseless be (33802)
How long shall death the tyrant reign (33802)
How precious is the book divine (33802)
Holy wonder, heavenly grace (33802)
Humble souls that seek salvation (33802)
Happy the man whose will is bowed (575)
Hail the new year that's now begun (575)
I asked the Lord that I might grow (33802)
If there are passions in my heart (33802)
I hear the gospel's joyful sound (33802)
I hate the tempter and his charms (33802)
I'll praise my maker with my breath (33802)
I'm tired with visits, modes, and forms (33802)
I'm not ashamed to own my Lord (33802)
In evil long I took delight (33802)
Innumerable foes (33802)
I see, (and dreadful to behold) (33802)
I sojourn in a vale of tears (33802)
It is a glorious mystery (33802)
I thirst, thou wounded Lamb of God (33802)
It grieves me, Lord, it grieves me sore (33802)
I have seen the lovely garden flower (33802)
I've listed in the holy war (33802)
I want a principle within (33802)
I would but cannot sing (33802)
If there are passions in my soul (575)
I bless the Lord that made me able (575)
Jesus, thy blessings are not few (33802)
Jesus, my Lord, attend (33802)
Jesus, let thy pitying eye (33802)
Jesus, my strength, my hope (33802)
Jesus, in my youthful bloom (33802)
Jesus, our everlasting King (33802)
Jesus, thy wandering sheep behold (33802)
Jesus, my Lord, increase my faith (33802)
Jesus, at thy command (33802)
Jesus, I'll sing of thy free grace (33802)
Jesus, I thirst and go I must (33802)
Jesus drinks the bitter cup (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

Jesus, my all, to heaven is gone (33802)
Jesus, the heavenly lover, gave (33802)
Jesus, and shall it ever be (33802)
Jesus invites his saints (575)
Jesus is gone above the skies (575)
Jesus, dear redeeming Lord (575)
Jesus, from the celestial world (575)
King Hezekiah lay diseased (33802)
Laugh, ye profane, and swell and burst (33802)
Let every mortal here attend (33802)
Let the world their virtue boast (33802)
Let Christ the glorious lover (33802)
Let earth and heaven agree (33802)
Let worldly minds the world pursue (33802)
Let strife forever cease (33802)
Let heaven and earth rejoice (33802)
Life's a warfare, I'm a soldier (33802)
Life is the time to serve the Lord (33802)
Listed into the cause of sin (33802)
Lord, I cannot let thee go (33802)
Look down, O Lord, with pitying eye (33802)
Lord, of the harvest hear (33802)
Lord, when we see a saint of thine (33802)
Lord, tis an infinite delight (33802)
Lord, I believe thy faithful word (33802)
Lord, I adore thy holy name (33802)
Lord, when together here we meet (33802)
Lord of the worlds above (33802)
Lord, dismiss us with thy blessing (33802)
Lord, we come before thee now (33802)
Lord, what a feeble piece (33802)
Lord, in the morning thou shalt hear (33802)
Lo, he comes with clouds descending (33802)
Lo! he cometh, countless trumpets (33802)
Lo, I come with joy to do (33802)
Look how the sons of Zion lay (33802)
Lord, let the tuneful trumpet sound (33802)
Let every mortal ear attend (575)
Late is the time to serve the Lord (575)
Lord, we adore thy bounteous hand (575)
Lord, in the morning I will send (575)
Lo, we are journeying home to God (575)
Lord, from thy throne of flowing grace (575)
Methinks I hear my saviour call (33802)
Mighty God, to thee we call (33802)
Mortals awake, with angels join (33802)
Mount Zion is my home (33802)
Mournful scenes are now unfolding (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

My days, my weeks, my months, my years (33802)
My God, my life, my love (33802)
My God a God of pardon is (33802)
My soul doth magnify the Lord (33802)
My God, I am thine, what a comfort (33802)
My Jesus, he is all to me (33802)
My soul with joy attend (33802)
My soul, review the heavenly day (33802)
My friends, what thousands I behold (33802)
My thoughts that often mount the skies (33802)
My years like shadows flee (33802)
My thoughts on awful subjects roll (33802)
My captain sounds the alarm of war (33802)
My harp untuned and laid aside (33802)
My soul is beset with grief and dismay (33802)
Mighty God, on thee I call (575)
My soul reviews the happy day (575)
My God, my heart with love inflame (575)
No, tis not vain to seek for bliss (575)
No, tis in vain to seek for bliss (33802)
Now is the time of lovely youth (33802)
Now the saviour stands a'pleading (33802)
Now begin the heavenly theme (33802)
Now I'll bless thee, Holy Spirit (33802)
Now in a song of grateful praise (33802)
Now let our souls on wings sublime (33802)
Now let my faith grow strong and rise (33802)
Now the shadows of night are gone (33802)
Now while Jesus stands inviting (33802)
O, all-loving Lamb, a sinner I am (33802)
O, am I born to die (33802)
O, could I find a humble place (33802)
O, could I find from day to day (33802)
O, cutting doubts, when shall I know (33802)
Of all the joys we mortals know (33802)
O, for a heart to praise my God (33802)
O, for a thousand tongues to sing (33802)
O, for a closer walk with God (33802)
O, for a glance of the heavenly day (33802)
Oft as the bell with solemn toll (33802)
Oft have I sat in secret sighs (33802)
O, happy, happy we (33802)
O, happy souls, how fast you go (33802)
O, joyful sound of gospel grace (33802)
O, love divine, what hast thou done (33802)
O, love divine, how sweet thou art (33802)
O, my soul what means this sadness (33802)
Once I presumed I ne'er should see (33802)
Once more we'll join before we part (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

Once, as the Saviour passed along (33802)
On Jordan's stormy banks I stand (33802)
O, sinners, fly to Jesus' arms (33802)
O, sight of anguish, view it near (33802)
O, tell me no more of this world's vain store (33802)
O, that I had an angel's tongue (33802)
O, that I knew it was the case (33802)
O, that our flinty hearts would melt (33802)
O, the immense, the amazing height (33802)
O, twas a mournful parting day (33802)
Our Father, whose eternal sway (33802)
O, what a blessing I have found (33802)
O, what a joy I've found (33802)
O, ye that seek for pleasure (33802)
O, that my load of sin were gone (575)
O, what a cruel wretch am I (575)
Praise, O my soul, redeeming love (33802)
Prayer was appointed to convey (33802)
Poor, weak, and wounded though I am (33802)
Raise, thoughtless sinner, raise thine eye (33802)
Rejoice, the Lord is king (33802)
Remember, sinful youth, you must die (33802)
Repent, Ye never-dying souls (33802)
Repent, the voice eternal cries (33802)
Rise, my soul, and sing and tell (33802)
Rise, my soul, and stretch thy wings (33802)
Remember, robust youth, you must die (575)
Repent, the voice celestial cries (575)
Salvation, O, the joyful sound (33802)
Saviour, I do feel thy merit (33802)
Saviour, visit thy plantation (33802)
Say, faith, who bleeds on yonder tree (33802)
See, mercy, mercy from on high (33802)
See the eternal judge descending (33802)
Shall I for fear of mortal men (33802)
Shepherds, rejoice, lift your eyes (33802)
Show me, O God, how stands the case (33802)
Show pity, Lord, O Lord forgive (33802)
Sinners, the voice of God regard (33802)
Sinners, turn, why will ye die (33802)
Sinners, obey the gospel word (33802)
Sinners, now make no delaying (33802)
Sinners, arise, your Saviour's come (33802)
Stand fast, ye brethren, on the rock (33802)
Strange that a soul that ever knew (33802)
Sweet is the work, my God, my King (33802)
Sweet was the time when first I felt (33802)
Sweet muse, descend and bless the grove (33802)
Still out of the deepest abyss (575)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

Teach me the measure of my days (33802)
That doleful night before his death (33802)
The Saviour calls, let every ear (33802)
There is a fountain filled with blood (33802)
The tree of life my soul hath seen (33802)
The Lord my shepherd is (33802)
There's many professors we find (33802)
The table spread, my soul there spies (33802)
The King of heaven a feast has made (33802)
There is a land of pure delight (33802)
There is a land of living joy (33802)
The day is past and gone (33802)
The worth of truth no tongue can tell (33802)
The fields, they are white (33802)
Think, O my soul, the dreadful day (33802)
This life's a dream, an empty show (33802)
Thou God of glorious majesty (33802)
Though troubles assail and dangers affright (33802)
Through all the changing scenes of life (33802)
Throughout our Saviour's life we trace (33802)
Through all this world below (33802)
Thus saith the Lord, the Saviour dear (33802)
Thy mercy, my God is the theme of my song (33802)
Thy presence, gracious Lord, afford (33802)
Tis pure delight without alloy (33802)
Tis a point I long to know (33802)
Tis finished, the Saviour cried (33802)
To God, the universal King (33802)
Today Emmanuel feeds his sheep (33802)
The reason we love friendship (575)
The great God of love hath shown (575)
Thus was the great Redeemer plunged (575)
The Saviour meets his flock today (575)
Today, Immanuel feeds his sheep (575)
Thy presence, gracious God, afford (575)
Uncertain how the way to find (33802)
Vain man, thy fond pursuits forbear (33802)
Vain, delusive world, adieu (33802)
Wailing, wailing, wailing, wailing (33802)
Waked by the gospel's____ (33802)
Wandering pilgrims, mourning Christians (33802)
We travelled through a barren land (33802)
We've found the rock, the traveller cried (33802)
Welcome, sweet Saviour dear (33802)
Welcome, sweet day of rest (33802)
Well met dear friends in Jesus' name (33802)
We in this tabernacle mourn (33802)
We'll trust in our wonderful friend (33802)
What heavenly music do I hear (33802)
What shall I render to my God (33802)

APPENDIX VII--Continued

What solemn scenes my eyes behold (33802)
What heavenly man, or lovely God (33802)
What shall we render to our God (33802)
What joyful sound is this I hear (33802)
What various hindrances we meet (33802)
What poor, despised company (33802)
When pity prompts me look around (33802)
When rising from the bed of death (33802)
When first the God of boundless grace (33802)
When by temptations sharp beset (33802)
When any turn from Zion's ways (33802)
When Jesus life and comfort spake (33802)
When first my soul enlisted (33802)
When converts first begin to sing (33802)
When Abram's servants to procure (33802)
When blooming youth is snatched away (33802)
When first to make my heart his own (33802)
When the fierce north wind (33802)
When Christ shall rend from end to end (33802)
When thou, my righteous Judge (33802)
Where, saith the mourner, is this Christ (33802)
Where two or three with sweet accord (33802)
While in my bloom O God of grace (33802)
While I am blessed with youthful bloom (33802)
While he cried aloud and prayed (33802)
Who have a right like us to sing (33802)
Who knows but such a one as I (33802)
Why should I sink beneath my fears (33802)
With melting heart and weeping eyes (33802)
With pleasure dear brethren (33802)
With fear and awe profound (33802)
While we exult in life's gay bloom (33802)
Why should a living man complain (33802)
Ye nations hear, tis heaven doth call (33802)
Ye dying sons of man (33802)
Ye children of God, by faith in his son (33802)
Ye happy sinners hear (33802)
Ye saints of God lay hold (33802)
Ye brethren and sisters who're called to see (33802)
Ye pilgrims of the heavenly king (33802)
Yonder amazing sight! I see. (33802)
Your harps, ye trembling saints (33802)

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